

Reagan's
arms control
dilemma

PAGE 12

IN THESE TIMES

VOL. 12, NO. 5

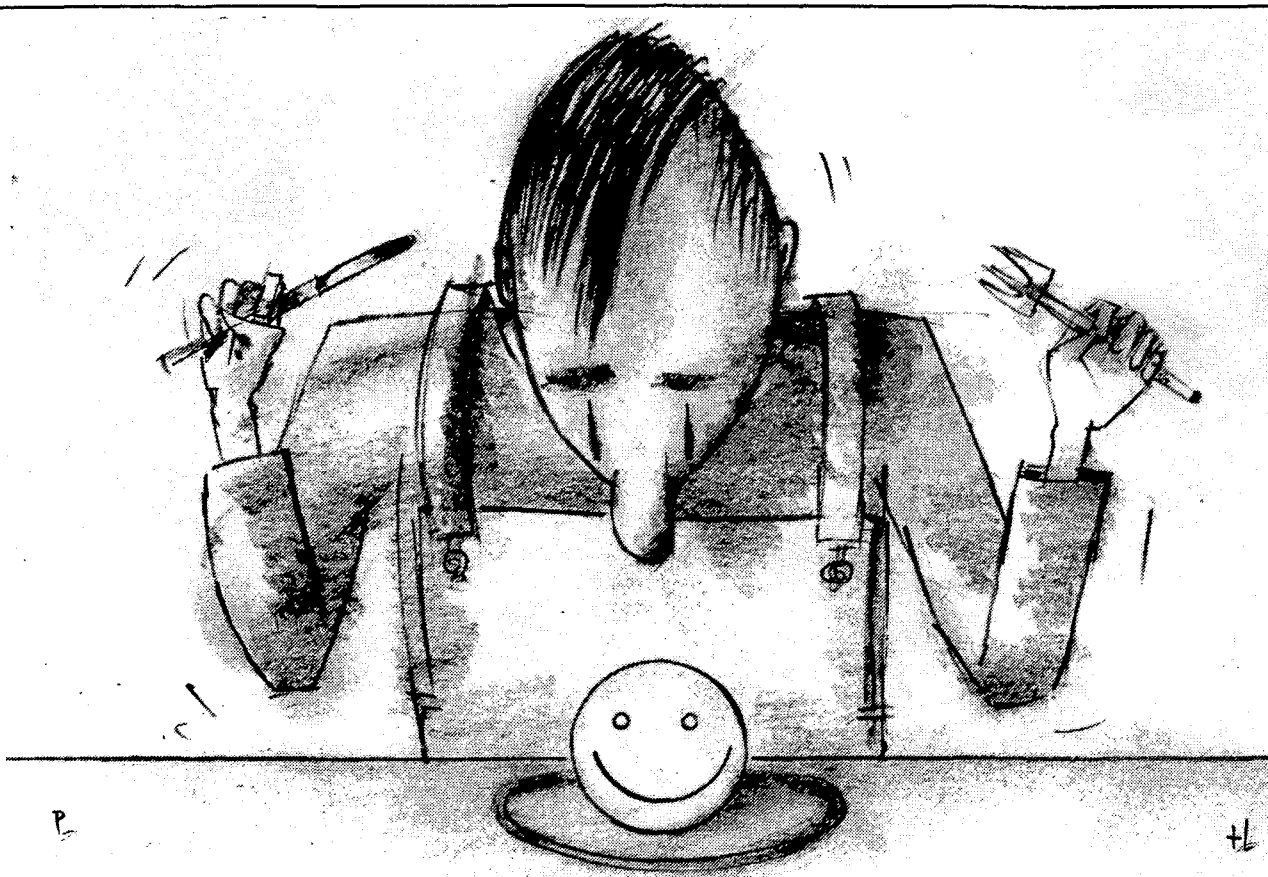
DEC. 9-15, 1987

\$1.25

AFTER HAROLD WASHINGTON

DAVID MOBERG page 6
SALIM MUWAKKIL page 7
EDITORIAL page 14

Portrait of three mayors: Outgoing
Interim Mayor David Orr, Acting
Mayor Eugene Sawyer and the
late Mayor Harold Washington.



Farm crisis over? Don't tell Iowa

By Osha Davidson

MECHANICSVILLE, IOWA

It is hard to believe that Terry Branstad and Mary Farwell are talking about the same state.

"The farm crisis is over," declares a smiling Branstad, Iowa's second-term Republican governor. "Our economy is on the move again."

"Over?" responds Farwell, director of Farmer's Outreach, a church-based rural support service in eastern Iowa. "I see people every day who are right on the edge of disaster. There is almost no middle class left in our county. They can't decently clothe their children. Many people don't have enough food. There is a very real threat of violence hanging in the air. How can anyone say our problems are over?"

An old maxim may explain the disparity: Where you stand depends on where you sit. Branstad sits in a high-backed, black leather executive armchair that rocks and swivels, and is situated in a spacious office on the first floor of the state capitol building, a location that affords a commanding view of the Des Moines skyline. Branstad's term ends in January 1991. He wants very much still to

be sitting in his plush chair that February.

Farwell sits on a metal folding chair in the office she shares with the church copier at St. Paul's Lutheran Church in Clinton, Iowa, an economically depressed, blue-collar town on the banks of the Mississippi. Her view is of many dazed farmers and small businessmen and women who have reached the end of their rope and are forced to admit what for them is probably the most shameful admission possible: They need help.

Branstad is not alone in his Chamber of Commerce boosterism. The *Des Moines Register*, which was recently bought by *USA Today* parent company, Gannett Co., Inc., regularly issues pronouncements that the long-awaited recovery has begun.

"The Iowa economy has absorbed the worst punch that the farm crisis could throw," wrote *Register* editor James Gannon in his weekly column last May, "and it's now bouncing back.... Yes, yes, I know: It is practically un-American to say, right out loud, that the farm crisis is over. But it is."

Branstad and the *Register* are "playing with fire," charges an angry Ben Zachrich, head of the Iowa Citizen Action Network. "We have a continuing crisis that is not being addressed and the more they hide it in happy words the more it festers and the worse it gets."

Hungry farmers: A study released in October by the Physician Task Force on Hunger in America documents the effects of the crisis that Branstad and Gannon claim has ended. The task force found evidence of widespread hunger and malnutrition on farms and in rural communities.

"For the first time, we are seeing children experiencing growth failure," says Dr. J. Larry Brown, head of the group and a faculty member at the Harvard University School of Public Health. "The families just simply didn't have adequate food to feed the children."

The People's Community Health Clinic in Waterloo, Iowa, told the task force that they had seen more cases of childhood malnutrition in the first three months of 1987 than in the last three years.

Another recent study by University of Wisconsin's Institute for Research on Poverty found that the percentage of Iowans living in poverty more than doubled between 1979 and 1985, with almost one out of six individuals in this formerly prosperous state now living below the federal poverty line. It was the biggest single jump in the poverty rate in the nation.

Yet the news that Iowa has a level of poverty comparable to Louisiana, Tennessee and Georgia didn't surprise Karen Ford, director of the Food Bank of Iowa, which supplies donated food to 200 food pantries and non-profit agencies throughout the state.

"We've seen a steady and continuing increase in the need for food in the past five years," says Ford. "The word crisis is a misnomer—what we are seeing is a chronic condition."

The picture is particularly gloomy for the state's growing rural elderly population, which now makes up 14.3 percent of Iowa's inhabitants—the third highest proportion in the country.

"In most cities in Iowa we have programs for the elderly, including meals on wheels, companion and transportation programs," says Jack Seeber, president of the Iowa State Council of Senior Citizens (ISCSC). "But these things just aren't available in rural areas. There are a lot of people hurting out there."

"Older women are having a very rough time," adds ISCSC field organizer Aileen Holthaus, "because only about one out of five have pensions. When their children and grandchildren move out of the state looking for work, these women are left with virtually no support. It's a mess, and it's getting worse—not better."

Many who work with public and private relief agencies believe that the rosy reports on the end of the farm crisis hinder relief efforts.

"We're seeing as much pain and need today as we were a year ago," says Roz Ostendorf, program coordinator of the Human Needs Commission of the Iowa Inter-church Agency for Peace and Justice in Des Moines. "In fact, we're seeing more people who can't pay for health care. When people hear that everything is getting better, but things are not improving for them, they think it must be *their* fault. It makes it more difficult for them to seek help."

The figures tell the story: Ostendorf's assertion appears to be borne out by figures released by the Iowa Department of Human Services showing that 33 percent fewer rural families received food stamps this past year—during a time of continuing rural poverty.

Gov. Branstad and the *Des Moines Register* point to a leveling off of once-plummeting land values and a slight decrease in the number of farm bankruptcies this year. But farm economist Neil Harl of Iowa State University attributes what little improvement there has been in the

INSIDE STORY

farm economy to three factors: record hog prices, higher cattle prices and a \$25 billion shot-in-the-arm in the form of federal subsidy payments. A decline in any one of the three would lead to a second wave of farm foreclosures, says Harl.

Record pork and cattle production this year will result in a glut on the market and a fall in prices for those commodities next spring. And federal budget cutters say that they are looking at agriculture expenditures as a good place to start trimming next year. Given those factors, it is more than likely that Iowans will face a new round of foreclosures, bankruptcies and bank-failures next summer. And when that happens, the task of trying to help people somehow survive the crisis that was supposed to be over will fall to Mary Farwell.

"Sometimes the hardest part is just trying to convince people not to give up," she says. "Some of them have been fighting for so long that they have almost nothing left. Many of them just can't face it anymore. I was an emergency room nurse before starting here and I saw people die, I saw many people die, because they waited until it was too late to seek treatment. Why? Because they knew they didn't have the money to pay for a doctor."

"For a lot of people it's been the breaking of not only a personal dream, but of a broader dream of what it means to be an American," she continues. "These people—the most patriotic, idealistic, Heartland Americans—have lost faith not only in themselves but in their country, because when they were hurting they were ignored. That does something to a person—something that's frightening to see."

Osha Davidson writes for several publications on farm issues.

CONTENTS

Inside Story: Farm crisis over? Don't tell Iowa	2
Kennedy's no liberal, but he's no Bork	3
In Short	4
Chicago—looking forward at Eugene Sawyer	6
Chicago—looking back at Harold Washington	7
Congress' Iran-contra whitewash	8
The SANE/Freeze merger	10
Italy and a new European chauvinism	11
Reagan's arms control dilemma	12
Editorial	14
Letters/Sylvia	15
Viewpoint: Reagan, the media and arms control	16
Ashes & Diamonds by Alexander Cockburn	17
Life in the U.S.: Cigarette smoking gun	18
In Print: Todd Gitlin on the New Left	19
In the Arts: Media Beat	21
Schwarzenegger flexes in <i>The Running Man</i>	21
Classifieds/Life in Hell	23
Soviet animator Yuri Norstein draws praise	24

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700. The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright ©1987 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 12, No. 5) published Dec. 9, 1987, for newsstand sales Dec. 8-15, 1987.

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

JUDGE ROBERT BORK, PRESIDENT REAGAN'S first nominee to fill the Supreme Court seat vacated by Lewis Powell, was a radical at odds with 50 years of constitutional interpretation. Judge Douglas H. Ginsburg, Reagan's next nominee, was a political and constitutional unknown. Appeals Court Judge Anthony Kennedy, Reagan's third nominee for the seat, appears to be far more cautious and genuinely conservative than Bork. Kennedy is therefore less likely to provoke a bitter nomination battle.

Like Powell, Kennedy does not appear to have an overall judicial philosophy. Instead, he weighs each case against precedent and against a vague set of political-philosophical standards that place him somewhat to the right of center. Like Powell, he is reluctant to make sweeping pronouncements that would establish broad precedents. Even when casting his vote with the right, he frames his conclusions in terms that can appeal to the center.

The difference between Bork and Kennedy is borne out by the way they handled similar cases involving the U.S. Navy's peremptory discharge of gays. In ruling on *Dronenburg vs. Zech*, Bork was not content to dismiss a gay's case against the Navy; he used the occasion to fire off a lengthy polemic against the plaintiff's claim that a constitutional right to privacy was at stake. Surveying the privacy cases from *Griswold vs. Connecticut* to *Roe vs. Wade*, Bork concluded that they provide the lower court judge with no "articulate Supreme Court principle."

In 1980 Kennedy also upheld the Navy in *Beller vs. Middendorf*. But Kennedy's ruling was far more equivocal. Citing *Roe vs. Wade* and liberal jurist Laurence Tribe, he acknowledged that the court's rulings on the right to privacy "suggest some kinds of government regulation of private consensual homosexual behavior may face substantial constitutional challenge." But he contended that the "special circumstances and needs of the armed forces outweigh whatever heightened solicitude is appropriate for consensual private homosexual conduct."

Kennedy's ruling upset feminist and gay organizations. But it also upset Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC) and anti-abortion organizations who see in Kennedy's acknowledgment of a right to privacy the repudiation of their own judicial agenda.

Opposition to civil rights: In his opinions, Kennedy has periodically displayed an insensitivity to civil rights and women's rights issues. Three civil rights cases are raising the hackles of some liberal groups. In 1977 Kennedy ruled that TOPIC, a fair housing group in Torrance, Calif., did not have the "standing" to sue a local realty company for steering prospective home buyers to neighborhoods according to their race—a practice forbidden by the federal Fair Housing Act. TOPIC had tried to prove the realty company's discriminatory practices using "test" buyers who had no real intention of purchasing homes. But the plaintiffs in the suit were residents of Torrance who claimed they had been injured by segregated housing patterns. And even though the court had ruled in a similar case that third parties could bring suit under the act, Kennedy dismissed the suit.

In 1979, Kennedy affirmed a lower court's

A true conservative, Kennedy courts the 'center'



Supreme Court nominee Anthony Kennedy appears headed for an easy confirmation.

decision that Mexican-Americans in San Fernando, Calif., did not have sufficient grounds to bring a 14th Amendment voting-rights suit against the city for its at-large election system. Mexican-Americans, who made up 50 percent of San Fernando's population, had elected only three people to the city council since 1911. To demonstrate the city's intent, the plaintiffs cited racist statements by city officials, harassment of Hispanic poll watchers, the use of all-English ballots and the absence of polling places in Mexican-American neighborhoods. But Kennedy ruled that evidence was not even sufficient to justify a trial. "The facts advanced by plaintiffs...cannot reasonably be viewed as suggesting that San Fernando's municipal government is unresponsive to the particular interests of the Mexican-American community," Kennedy wrote.

That same year, Kennedy reversed a District Court opinion ruling against the Pasadena, Calif., board of education, which had sought to terminate the jurisdiction of the District Court over its desegregation efforts. In denying the board's petition, the District Court cited school board members' statements that they would revoke Pasadena's desegregation plan. In his reversal, Kennedy denied that the board members' threats to restore segregated schools constituted a real danger. "I have doubts whether there is always a logical nexus between the objective of eliminating the effect of a past violation and a finding that a future violation might occur," he wrote.

In all these cases, however, Kennedy qualified his own judgment by acknowledging the political merits of the plaintiffs' claims. In the San Fernando voting-rights case, he wrote, "To conclude that the plaintiffs' evidence could not justify striking down the at-large election system does not, in my

view, necessarily mean that plaintiffs may not be entitled to some relief."

Kennedy's civil rights decisions also do not display a pattern of insensitivity. In 1980, for instance, he ruled in favor of Mexican American restaurant owners who charged that a city's denial of their liquor license was racially motivated.

Comparable worth: Kennedy's approach has been most rigid on women's rights cases. In 1985 he overturned a District Court ruling in support of a suit brought by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) against the state of Washington. Citing studies done by the state, AFSCME had charged that in paying women 20 percent less than men for comparable work, Washington was violating the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Instead of relying on the District Court's statement of the facts of the case, Kennedy broke legal custom by introducing a new argument. The lower court ruling had not described the state as having used market forces to determine wage rates, but Kennedy framed the case as an attack against free enterprise. He ruled that the state's use of market criteria to set wages could not be construed as discriminatory: "Neither law nor logic deems the free market system a suspect enterprise."

The judge also displayed hostility to women's rights in a 1982 case. Kennedy dissented from an Appeals Court ruling that weight requirements for airline hostesses were discriminatory. The airlines claimed customers prefer slimmer flight attendants, and Kennedy argued that the continual contact between stewardesses and customers justified the airline's requirement.

Death penalty: With some justification, conservatives have championed Kennedy as

a law-and-order judge. For example, he has upheld several death-penalty convictions. In a decision this year, he declared that "there is no valid constitutional or federal objection to the imposition of the capital sentence." Kennedy has also thrown out several cases in which defendants claimed that the evidence was obtained illegally and should be excluded.

But Kennedy's position has not been rigid. In 1986, for example, he overturned the death sentence of an Arizona man because the judge had not adequately apprised the jury of its sentencing options. In 1980 he dissented from an Appeals Court decision allowing evidence that the police obtained by bribing a defendant's five-year-old son. "I view the police practice here as both pernicious in itself and dangerous as precedent. Indifference to personal liberty is but the precursor of the state's hostility to it," Kennedy wrote.

In the few First Amendment cases that Kennedy has handled, he has taken a civil libertarian stand. In a 1978 case he reversed a lower court ruling that NBC would have to provide the court with a preview of a television drama portraying an insurance executive convicted of fraud. "It is a fundamental principle of the First Amendment that the press may not be required to justify or defend what it prints or says until after the expression has taken place," Kennedy wrote.

In cases in which the right to sue was at stake, Kennedy has periodically championed the rights of individuals against those of the state—a position that contrasts sharply with that of Bork. In 1982, for instance, he overturned a lower court ruling that a housing group could not sue the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development for discouraging lower-income housing.

Conventional Republican: While Kennedy has called himself a judicial "conservative," he has never been a conservative political activist. Associates in Sacramento, Calif., have described the jurist as "apolitical," but it is probably more accurate to call him a conventional business-oriented Republican—closer in sensibility to someone like Sen. Robert Dole of Kansas than to Reagan or Attorney General Edwin Meese.

Raised in Sacramento and educated at Stanford and Harvard Law School, Kennedy became a lawyer and lobbyist in the state capital. He gave a paltry \$50 to Reagan's gubernatorial re-election campaign in 1970. He first came to Reagan and Meese's attention in 1973 when he helped draft Reagan's unsuccessful state tax cut initiative, Proposition One.

Some liberals believe that a Kennedy confirmation will constitute a defeat for the groups that helped block Bork. But Reagan's nomination of Kennedy is really a victory for liberals. It was made possible only by the rejection of Bork.

Conservatives in Meese's Justice Department had originally wanted not only someone who would tip the court to the right, they wanted someone who would also replace liberal jurisprudence with the kind of doctrines championed by Bork and by the University of Chicago's law-and-economics school of thought. They had initially rejected Kennedy because he is not a right-wing idealogue, and because on specific cases he may not follow the Heritage Foundation's line.

If confirmed, Kennedy may push the court to the right. But he may not. That is something that could not have been said of Bork. □

Joel Bleifuss

Children of poverty

Since it came to power the Reagan administration has whittled away at Aid for Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), the public welfare program aimed directly at helping children. Predictably, those cuts have had a disastrous effect. According to a recent Census Bureau report, 22 percent of children under 10 years of age live in poverty—a rate higher than any other age group in U.S. society. Poverty is defined as less than \$10,989 a year for a family of four. To earn those dollars a person earning the minimum wage of \$3.35 per hour would have to work 63 hours a week.

A maid is a maid

Last month the management of the Copley Plaza Hotel in Boston, dissatisfied with the condition of the hotel's bathrooms, ordered the 44 chambermaids at the 393-room hotel to turn in their mops. "There will be NO mops used in the rooms of this hotel until further notice. Please help yourself to as many clean rags as you like for HAND-washing floors," read a directive from the management of the hotel owned by the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co. According to the *Boston Globe's* Ruth Butterfield, the hotel's chambermaids, most of whom are black, Jamaican, Haitian and Hispanic, clean at least 16 rooms and 16 bathrooms each day. The Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union has filed a grievance and is instructing maids not to clean floors by hand. A spokesman for management told the *Boston Globe* that he doesn't understand what the fuss is about: "I don't see it as a hardship for the maids. A maid is a maid and that is just what she has to do."

Moving toward statehood?

For the first time in the history of U.S. foreign aid, the amount of dollars contributed by Washington has exceeded the recipient country's national budget. According to a study released by the congressional Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus, in 1987 the U.S. gave El Salvador \$608 million—105 percent of that country's \$582 million budget. Furthermore, the study says that \$3 of every \$4 of that aid is devoted to the government's war against the Salvadoran insurgency and is not used to address the "root causes" of the conflict. The authors of the study, Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-OR), Rep. Jim Leach (R-IA) and Rep. George Miller (D-CA), make three recommendations. First, U.S. aid should be used to assist reform and development, not to prop up the Salvadoran army. Second, Congress should stop sending U.S. dollars to Salvadoran internal security forces until the country's judicial system demonstrates an ability to prosecute military officers who abuse human rights. Third, 50 percent of any future aid to El Salvador should be withheld until the Reagan and Duarte administrations make an effort to negotiate an end to the civil war.

Once upon a time

If Ronald Reagan had his way the nation would return to the halcyon days of the McCarthy witchhunts. The Moonie-owned *Washington Times* recently reported this observation by our wistful president: "There was once a Congress in which they had a committee that would investigate even one of their own members if it was believed that that person had Communist leanings. Well, they've done away with those committees. That shows the success of what the Soviets were able to do in this country...."

Military covers up radioactive spill

"Don't get it on TV...." "Don't tell your roommate or your girlfriend...." "We have to keep the information out of enemy hands." These comments were recorded in the fall of 1986 during a secret meeting at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base near Dayton, Ohio. "We" refers to the U.S. military. "The enemy" is the U.S. public. "The information" is the fact that in September and October 1986 an undisclosed amount of highly radioactive waste—americium-241—was spilled at the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base. The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* reports that the spill and the attempted cover-up came to light on November 21 in Dayton during a hearing before Ohio's Democratic senators, John Glenn and Howard Metzenbaum. It appears that after the spill Wright-Patterson officers discussed plans to clean up the site and secretly smuggle the radioactive waste to a commercial dump. One officer at the cover-up meeting ordered that all records of their discussion be

Conservative Dems have plans to stop Jesse Jackson

The Democratic Leadership Council (DLC), a coalition of influential Democrats who believe that the party must swing to the right to win the 1988 presidential election, is waging an unofficial "Stop Jesse Jackson" campaign.

The DLC, led by former Virginia Gov. Charles Robb and conservative Georgia Sen. Sam Nunn, is made up of almost 200 elected Democrats, including presidential candidates Sen. Albert Gore of Tennessee, former Gov. Bruce Babbitt of Arizona and Richard Gephardt of Missouri. The group was founded in 1985, after Walter Mondale's defeat. DLC strategists blame Mondale's "liberal" beliefs for the party's poor showing.

A recent DLC survey purports to show that the key to the 1988 election lies in winning over the Southern "swing vote"—Southerners who in 1980 and 1984 voted for Ronald Reagan but also supported a Democratic senatorial candidate. Forty percent of these swing-voters are leaning toward the Republican presidential candidate in 1988 and only 31 percent toward the Democrats. Stanley Greenberg, who conducted the poll, told the *New York Times* that if this ratio does not change it will be "very tough for the Democrats to carry Southern states in 1988."

The DLC fears that Jackson will win big in the March 8 "Super Tuesday" primary, when 20 states, 14 in the South, will hold primaries or cau-

ses. A Jackson victory would alienate the "swing vote," which the DLC is now so carefully wooing.

Ironically, the Super Tuesday scheme was originally dreamed up by party conservatives who hoped that holding what is in essence a one-day regional primary, would force the candidates to take positions acceptable to the South's conservative voters. It now appears that this ploy may backfire. First, with the exception of Gore, the Democratic candidates have tailored their rhetoric to the more liberal voters of Iowa and New Hampshire. Second, Jackson's solid support among black voters, a substantial segment of the Southern electorate, has made him the regional front-runner.

The strategy of the "Stop Jackson" campaign involves a DLC-coordinated get-out-the-vote effort for Super Tuesday. Jackson has the greatest number of already committed voters. A large general turnout of white voters—who lack a standard-bearer to draw them to the polls—should help the other candidates. If Jackson maintains his lead in the polls, efforts to undermine his campaign can be expected to intensify.

What would the DLC like to see in the Democratic presidential nominee? Al From, the group's executive director, is vague. In a recent interview From said Democrats must "establish with the electorate that [the party is] capable of keeping the country and the economy strong.... The bottom line is not one of specifics, but whether the electorate trusts the Democratic candidate."

A clearer guide to the DLC's views are found in the group's manifesto,

"New Directions, Enduring Values." The 17-page document calls for the Democratic Party to embrace neo-liberal economic policies and stand tough on support for the military.

Although the DLC's proposed remedies for the economy include greater spending for education and training, the primary consideration is growth, not equity. Calling for labor to join in a "new social compact" with business, government and education, the document says a "relentlessly adversarial stance toward employers" is an "anachronism."

The DLC also favors balancing the federal budget by 1991. Domestic programs that are "merely desirable" should be cut or eliminated in order to apply resources for "essential" needs. Further budget savings would come from "curbing the growth of entitlements," presumably Social Security and health-care programs such as Medicaid.

As for military spending, the DLC criticizes the Reagan administration's lack of planning and efficiency, but not its basic presumptions. To meet "new and urgent threats to our national security," the DLC wants to create a special new military command to handle "irregular warfare" and terrorism, it wants to build up NATO forces to offset the "Soviet's huge advantage in conventional forces," and it wants to end congressional "micromanagement" of the nation's defense. The DLC does not shy away from intervention abroad. According to the DLC, U.S. foreign policy should be "tempered, but not paralyzed by Vietnam."

The media has generally applauded these efforts. A *Philadelphia In-*



Donald L. Nielson/The (Avalon) Journal Herald



Invention of the '80s: Driving east from Avoca, Iowa, on Highway 83, the first full farm you come to has this thing down by the road—Tim Dinklage's Reaganomics Machine. It's long and pretty tall and looks vaguely familiar, possibly because it's made from junk that represents functions of our government.

Dinklage explains his invention: "This is the motor. It's rated at 600 political power, but only 26 real horsepower. That mower bar reminded me of social program cutting. Lots of people think I'm just another farmer protesting prices. I'll grant you, prices aren't worth a damn, but I'm also protesting social program cuts, inefficiency in the defense budget and the rosy view that the president gets...."

"This is the bureaucratic wheel—spinning all by itself, doing nothing.... Down here, this auger is the working-man's tax collector. It takes it right out of his check and is totally enclosed. There are no loopholes.... Up here collects for large corporations and the well-off," Dinklage says of an elevator chain dangling down. "It's a fine piece of machinery, but full of loopholes.... The Defense Department has no bottom, as you can see," he says of a 55-gallon drum. "I don't know the price of a nuclear submarine engine, but when the government pays \$400 for hammers and 83 cents for bitty fasteners, I'm worried."

Towering over the defense barrel is what Dinklage calls the federal deficit, "the highest thing in sight and getting higher." The driver's seat, for the president, is a fireplace grate. "Some think I mean for it to be a hot seat," Dinklage explains. "But I don't." Then he grins. "He just looks through those rosy-colored glasses." He pats a former hot-water tank. "This is the department that takes care of big banks and big business. It is doled out by the bucket.... Then down here," he says of a corn knife rigged to hit a block of wood, "is where we handle small banks and small businesses." He then points to the rear of the spreader. "Way out here is agriculture, twirling in the breeze."

—William Mueller

quirer editorial observed last year: "To the degree the DLC shapes the thinking of the broader Democratic Party, the party will benefit—and so ultimately will the nation." And the *Wall Street Journal* believes

that the DLC is the only thing standing between the Democratic Party and irresponsible radicalism. The *Journal* warned in December 1986 that if the DLC's "centrist" approach does not guide Democratic

foreign policy, the party "will be well along to joining its counterparts across the Atlantic—rolling to the left and no longer an opposition that can be counted on to defend democracy." —Ken Silverstein

Coalition prescribes antidote to pesticide poisons

CLEVELAND—It was an unusual event. Nearly 200 environmentalists, migrant fieldworkers, inner-city residents, professors, organic farmers and garden club members gathered here last month to learn more about what many—including some Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) scientists—consider the nation's No. 1 environmental threat: pesticides.

Although 25 years have passed since Rachel Carson's classic book *Silent Spring* sparked the environmental movement, little has changed, according to conference keynote speaker Cesar Chavez, president of the United Farm Workers (UFW). "We have yet to see legislation that really gives our people any hope," said Chavez who is touring the country to promote a boycott of all California table grapes. The UFW called the boycott to force growers to ban five of the most dangerous pesticides used on the crop (see *In These Times*, Sept. 23).

As Jay Feldman, director of the National Coalition Against the Misuse of Pesticides (NCAMP) explained, "Many believed that with the establishment of the EPA in 1972 the

problem was taken care of. But it wasn't. Entrenched agricultural and agribusiness interests have controlled the process of pesticide development and regulation in this country." (See *In These Times*, Oct. 14.)

The result of this industry bias, charged Feldman, has been the introduction and continued use of dangerous pesticides that, according to a recent study by the National Academy of Sciences, cause consumers 20,000 new cancer cases each year. And that's not all. According to Dr. Marion Moses, an expert in environmental and occupational medicine, the chemicals also lead to an unknown number of birth defects, miscarriages, blood disorders, neurological problems and immune-system disorders.

The production of pesticides has soared over the past 30 years—from 200,000 to 2.7 billion pounds annually, worldwide. But information about the health hazards posed by the chemicals has failed to keep pace. A 1982 congressional report found that 90 percent of pesticides in use lack adequate genetic damage studies, 79 percent lack cancer studies and 70 percent lack birth defect studies.

Karen Snyder, research associate with the Natural Resources Defense Fund, told conference attendees that a 1984 "Market Basket Survey" of 100

fruit and vegetable samples purchased at grocery stores across California, found that more than 43 percent of the food contained pesticide residues. Surprisingly, the most common pesticide found was DDT—banned more than a decade earlier, but still present in the soil and found as an "inert" ingredient in some pesticides currently used (see *In Short*, Oct. 7).

As could be expected in a gathering that sought to bring together individuals from many different backgrounds and disciplines, there was disagreement during the conference over what methods to use in fighting pesticide abuse.

Baldemar Velasquez, founder and director of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee—the fieldworker's union that last year successfully ended a seven-year boycott of Campbell Soup Co.—called political and legislative efforts "useless." Velasquez said the only way to effect changes is through economic campaigns like boycotts, strikes and pickets.

That position is contrary to the efforts of groups like NCAMP that work largely through the legislative process. If not resolved, said some at the conference, these disagreements could blunt the effectiveness of the coalition that is only now beginning to form. —Osha Davidson

destroyed. But a tape recording of the meeting inadvertently survived and was obtained by the Justice Department. Although the U.S. attorney handling the investigation has tried to keep the contents of the tape secret, Metzenbaum read excerpts from it to the Air Force generals, Nuclear Regulatory Commission officials and Boy Scout leaders who were attending the Dayton hearing. These revelations are of particular concern to Boy Scouts from Canton, Ohio, who had camped on the base after the spill. Said troop leader Paul Cice, "The questions they're bringing up now make you wonder even more if the boys are contaminated." Other concerns include a missing drum containing plutonium and a letter signed by former Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger that mischaracterized the spill as involving "negligible amounts" of radioactivity. The word "negligible" was added to the last draft of a letter that Weinberger sent to Ohio Gov. Richard Celeste.

Brazil moves against the church

Brazil's National Security Council recently criticized the Catholic Church's involvement in social justice issues and authorized a "confidential study of the church's interference in the affairs of state." According to *A Folha De Sao Paulo*, a Sao Paulo newspaper, in June 1986 the National Security Council prepared a secret document accusing the church of "being used for indoctrination diverging from the teachings of the Gospel." The council also said the church was taking advantage of the "religious sensibility of Brazilians to exploit social inequalities and the difficulties being experienced by the great majority of the people." The report listed 118 priests, including three bishops, who, according to the National Security Council, are guilty of "incitement of rural workers to land invasions and encouragement of workers to passive resistance and movements of open rebellion."

It's a bird, it's a plane, its...

Christopher Reeve, a.k.a. Superman, flew to Santiago, Chile, last week to give his support to 78 Chilean actors, directors and playwrights who were planning to hold an open-air theater festival in defiance of threats they had received from a Chilean death squad. The death squad is a previously unknown group that calls itself "Trizano Cultural Action Pacification" after a Chilean frontiersman who in the 19th century organized posses to massacre the country's Mapuche Indians. In early November, the death squad had sent the theater people this message: "You either leave the country by the end of the month or you will be executed." At a press conference held before the stadium doors were to open, Reeve, a board member of Actor's Equity, read a declaration of support that was signed by about 200 U.S. actors, directors and writers. As he finished a colonel from the military police arrived and cancelled the show, saying it was a political and not an artistic event. Reeve and the assembled group—the actors already in costume—then marched through Santiago to a private auditorium. Along the route they were joined by thousands of citizens. But the auditorium could seat only 2,000, and about 3,000 would-be spectators were left at the door. Police then arrived to disperse the people in the crowd, who rioted as they were assaulted by water cannons and tear gas.

Saved

Native people in the Americas continue to die from "imported" diseases that their bodies' natural defenses are unable to resist. Recently two Indian women who were tracked down in the Paraguayan jungle and taken to the New Tribes Mission Base, a fundamentalist mission camp, died during a flu epidemic. The women were members of an isolated, nomadic Amazon tribe known as the Ayoreo. According to Survival International, a publication that supports the rights of indigenous peoples, such deaths are still a normal consequence of Western contact with previously isolated tribal people. But apparently these regular losses don't deter the Protestant fundamentalists who scour the jungles in motor boats and spotter planes looking for other Indians needing to be "saved."

Original articles, news clips, memos, press releases, reports, anecdotes, raw gossip—send them all to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1300 West Belmont, Chicago, Ill. 60657. Please include your address and phone number.



Rev. Jesse Jackson (second from left), Ald. Tim Evans (third from left) and other Washington allies at the late mayor's bier.

A true reformer is gone; a political machine reborn

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

THE ECHOES OF EULOGIES FOR MAYOR Harold Washington, Chicago's first black and first modern reform mayor, had barely faded from the mourning-draped city council chambers when the coalition that Washington had cemented together came unglued.

During his tenure of less than five years in office, Washington said he wanted to "show you can take a government of deals and replace it with a government of ideals." But with his sudden death of a heart attack at age 65 the day before Thanksgiving, his ideals were relegated to rhetoric sanctimoniously invoked even by his enemies, and the political reality of a government of deals returned.

The old Democratic machine that Washington had compared to a dying beast extended its weakened claws again to grab a big chunk of power. In a hurried move, put together in private meetings that started even before Washington was declared dead, a few machine-oriented black aldermen allied with the old white ethnic machine bloc to elect black Ald. Eugene Sawyer acting mayor. Despite massive protests by Washington supporters and community groups, the council's hard-core Washington backers were only able to muster the votes of 11 blacks (six of the 18 blacks backed Sawyer and one was absent), all four Hispanics and four of the seven whites from lakefront wards that are historically less machine-controlled than those of the white northwest and southwest sides.

The 29-19 victory of Sawyer over Ald. Tim

Evans, Washington's council floor leader, came at 4:01 a.m. on December 2 after a marathon council meeting that took place while more than 4,000 Evans supporters packed council chambers, city hall corridors

CHICAGO

and nearby streets, chanting "no deals" and waving fistfuls of money asking, "How much, Sawyer, how much?"

Making of a reformer: Washington, an ebulliently charming man who deeply enjoyed politics, became a state senator through his work in the infamous Chicago Democratic machine. Later he broke with it and made an unsuccessful bid for mayor in 1977, after Mayor Richard Daley died, then successfully ran for Congress in 1980. In 1983

The old Democratic machine, that Washington called a dying beast, is back.

he won a startling upset in the Democratic mayoral primary and a narrow victory in a racially rancorous general election.

Washington ran as a candidate of blacks, promising to redress their long history of grievances with the machine. But he also campaigned as a reformer, an "urban populist" dedicated to cleaning up a corrupt, unfair and inefficient government, strengthening the city's diverse neighborhoods and generally making the city and its

institutions work better for citizens long neglected by the machine. Both were essential to victory and ingrained in Washington's politics, but the duality led to tensions that were never fully resolved. In addition, Washington was a politician of broad left sympathies knowledgeably attuned to national issues.

Despite constant obstruction by a hostile city council majority during his first three years in office, Washington made significant headway on parts of his reform program: more open and honest government, jobs and contracts for minorities and women, restored fiscal soundness and greater efficiency, and economic development that attempted to balance neighborhood and downtown needs. After a court-ordered ward remap and heated elections, he finally consolidated a council majority last year. But Washington at his death had still made little progress on some major substantive areas—reforming the city's dreadful public schools, salvaging a long-abused public housing system, renovating a park system that had been a patronage haven, improving health care for the poor and bringing jobs and affordable housing to needy Chicagoans. Yet he had become the leading advocate of new federal aid to the cities, and he had just initiated promising action on most of the major local substantive challenges.

Frictions and factions: Many of his supporters were beginning to chafe at the slow pace of change and at growing concessions to the business establishment—building new stadiums for professional sports teams despite neighborhood displacement and ratifying downtown development despite crowding or destruction of historic structures. Hispanics increasingly complained that the Washington administration favored blacks and short-changed Latinos (although Hispanics had gained significantly during his tenure); good government reformers wor-

ried that the drive to efficiency was slowing down. But with Washington's death, it became chillingly apparent to sympathetic critics that the gulf between what he was doing and the potential from even the best of his successors was immense.

Through his own political savvy, overwhelming popularity in the black community and force of personality, Washington had managed to hold together a fractious coalition. Blacks who came up through the machine, like Sawyer and his mayoral campaign manager, Ald. William Henry, were angry that Washington resisted handing out patronage jobs and no-bid contracts to council members' cronies. But Washington's popularity kept them in line. So despite deep opposition from even many of his own supporters, Washington forced through reforms such as an ethics ordinance. Passed near the end of his first term, it was one of his greatest achievements—and one now threatened to be diluted.

Other black community leaders, including some instrumental in Washington's two mayoral victories, were interested primarily in black political power and were insensitive to the needs of political alliances. But Washington insisted on appealing to Hispanics, Asians and whites (even though in his 1987 re-election the presumed liberal white wards failed to support him enthusiastically, and the ethnic wards remained opposed albeit less hysterically). Washington's initial victory politically awakened the Hispanic communities and increased their power. As a result, at least three of the four Hispanic aldermen were among the most sophisticated and left-wing supporters of Washington, more loyal to the Washington reform vision than most black aldermen. Unfortunately, the black aldermen elected last April are generally a pathetic lot with little understanding of Washington's politics.

Having finally gained clear power with his re-election victory last spring, Washington was reaching out even more to white ethnics before his death. For example, he threw his support behind a county ticket uniting blacks and white ethnics shortly before his death. Many in the white machine bloc were prepared to accommodate to his power. Now that he is dead they are even willing to use his rhetoric and to claim to be preserving the Washington legacy. Although such verbal misappropriation strikes supporters as cynical and sacrilegious, it also reflects a lasting Washington victory: the rhetoric of political values has changed in the city and voters' expectations of politicians have been raised.

"We've had a taste of power, a sense of holding public officials accountable," Rev. Emmett Harrison explained as he protested outside council chambers on Dec. 1. "It's hard turning back."

For the fragile Washington council coalition to win, they had to stick together. Rev. Jesse Jackson rushed back from his Persian Gulf trip to keep blacks united. Presumably he backed Evans, despite Jackson's publicly ambiguous stance. But his high-profile intervention raised hackles among many whites throughout the city who dislike Jackson and feared him becoming the kingmaker. In the end, he probably did as much harm as good, although he helped mobilize sentiment against any deal with machine whites.

Continued on page 22

MAYOR HAROLD WASHINGTON WEIGHED 284 pounds when he collapsed at his desk from a massive heart attack on November 25. The Cook County medical examiner said Washington was not only 100 pounds overweight, but was also suffering from arteriosclerosis and high blood pressure—conditions typical of black American males. Washington was 65 when he died, exactly the average lifespan for black males in the U.S. In retrospect, it's tempting to speculate that the late mayor knew his time was growing short. For, in a little more than four years, Chicago's first black mayor irrevocably altered an urban social structure molded by decades of political tradition.

Washington's contentious political style obscured the dimensions of those changes. Uprooting the hardened remnants of the once-invincible Democratic machine is the accomplishment for which the mayor is most noted, and it was certainly something he relished. But Washington's legacy of black empowerment is by far his most important contribution. In less than five years he transformed this country's third largest city into the political capital of black America. What's more, he did this through a system of inclusion rather than exclusion.

One of Washington's last political acts was in helping to forge a multi-ethnic Democratic slate for county elections that is a model of coalition politics. Pundits saw the mayor's move as evidence of a new political maturity, but Washington's followers say he always believed in political coalitions—but ones in which blacks were senior rather than silent partners.

The late mayor's tenure fashioned one of the broadest coalitions this country has seen, said Rev. Jesse Jackson at a memorial service for the late mayor at the Operation PUSH headquarters. "He included even those who had rejected him," Jackson added, referring to the new county Democratic ticket that includes the daughter of one of Washington's staunchest city council opponents. "Even in the pits of punishment, he rose up not bitter but better."

However, Jackson's emphasis on racial conciliation seemed somewhat out of step with the sentiments being expressed by the black leadership in this highly charged political city. Many blacks argued that racial unity was a more appropriate emphasis, since Washington's political success was due to his solid, virtually unanimous, black voter support. "The most important thing for us to remember is the unity and solidification of the black base," said Thomas N. Todd, a Chicago attorney and a PUSH co-founder. "If we overlook that fact, then we have overlooked the vehicle by which Harold Washington was put in place and was able to initiate a legacy of reform."

Extraordinary appeal: Washington's appeal spanned many strata of Chicago's black community. He was as highly regarded by black nationalists as he was by civil rights. Gang members lauded him with as much enthusiasm as did wealthy black businessmen. Evangelicals and atheists, gay activists and homophobes all sang his praises. And from that segment of the community generalized under the term "grass-roots," Washington was literally revered.

A hint of that admiration was revealed when more than 1 million people filed through the city hall rotunda to view the mayor's body as it lay in state. Many of them

An astonishing display of black civic energy

had to wait in long lines for hours in a cold rain. Washington supporter Irma Eubanks, for example, said she waited for three hours. "I didn't care if I had to wait longer," she explained. "I loved this man dearly and I feel as if I've lost a member of my family and that this city has lost its strongest hope for racial reconciliation."

The huge crowds lining the route of Washington's funeral cortege as it slowly moved through the south side neighborhoods the late mayor called his own also provided evidence of his stature with common people. Young blacks, many unemployed, undereducated and notoriously indifferent to political matters, poured into the streets. A large group of allied street gangs even conducted an all-gang member memorial service for the late mayor.

Another 10,000 people waited for hours, in the rain again, to gain entry into the formal funeral service at the 4,000-seat Christ Universal Temple on the city's far south side. It turned out their wait was in vain. The funeral attracted so many politicians, actors and other dignitaries from around the country that the common people were squeezed out. Only a handful of those who had stood in line, some since before dawn, were allowed entry into the huge edifice.

The power vacuum: The furious struggle that resulted in the city council election of Ald. Eugene Sawyer (see accompanying story) is perhaps the most graphic demonstration of what the loss of Washington means for the future of black politics in this city.

With the strength of his personality and the scope of his appeal, the late mayor was able to bring together the disparate and often competing interests of the black community. For example, Washington came out in favor of a gay rights ordinance without alienating the heavily Christianized and traditionally homophobic core of his support base. His push for a city council ethics ordinance was

not something for which many black aldermen jumped for joy, but the force of his character forced them to toe the line.

Since his first election in 1983, Washington has had to outflank those blacks who wanted to destroy the infamous Chicago Democratic machine merely to replace it with a machine of a different hue. The late mayor fought and won many battles to get the point across that he had no intention of conducting business as usual, and that the cronyism and favoritism that had blemished so many city administrations was over. Washington's death revealed that those forces were merely waiting in the wings. The council coalition that orchestrated the December 2 election of Sawyer, Chicago's longest-serving black alderman, is composed of the same "my-turn" blacks in alliance with the white aldermen who bedeviled Washington throughout

Even though the march for reform has been halted with Harold Washington's death, the psychology of Chicago's blacks has been changed forever.

his entire first term. "The mayor's reform administration is dead and the city's push for reform is over," said Don Rose, a political strategist and longtime confidant of Washington.

A different mentality: But even though the march for reform apparently has halted, Washington's tenure has forever changed the psychology of black Chicago. The reaction of at least 4,000 citizens who descended

on City Hall, where aldermen were meeting to choose an acting mayor from among their ranks, was an astonishing display of civic energy. The crowd, chanting "no deals," demanded Ald. Timothy Evans, the late mayor's floor leader in the council, be chosen.

"Black people in this city have been empowered by the example of Harold Washington," said Conral Worrill, chairman of the Chicago-based Black United Front. "The people will not let themselves be left out of any more decisions that affect their lives," he added. The day before the council meeting, Worrill helped organize a public memorial service that was transformed into a huge political rally for Evans—the person most community groups thought should be Washington's successor. That memorial-cum-rally excited the crowd of more than 10,000 people and provided the spark for the huge assemblage at the council meeting the next day.

"These self-serving black aldermen have apparently forgotten what Harold Washington represents," Worrill added. "The mayor stood up toe-to-toe to those who wanted to deny the will of the people who elected him. And he won. He didn't compromise or accommodate himself to the status quo. He fought them all the way and that's why he has such stature in the black community." Worrill revealed that recall petitions already are being circulated in the wards of those black aldermen who voted Sawyer in as acting mayor, (despite the fact that Illinois has no statutory provisions for such action). There is also some movement to force a special election before the regularly scheduled one in 1989.

When Mayor Richard J. Daley died in 1976, Wilson Frost, the president *pro tempore* of the council, was his unofficial successor. "I am, by virtue of the laws of the state of Illinois, and legal precedent established in case law, acting mayor of the city of Chicago," Frost said at a news conference days following Daley's death. But Frost was black and Chicago was not ready for even an interim black mayor. The council quickly voted Ald. Michael Bilandic in as acting mayor. After the death of Harold Washington the council may have been just as contentious, but there was little disagreement that the acting mayor should be black. Progress? □



Mourners line the streets of Chicago's south side on the day of Harold Washington's funeral.

Iran-contra scandal's untold story stays untold in congressional report

By Peter Kornbluh

WASHINGTON

"THE FULL STORY OF THE Iran-contra affair is complicated and, for this nation, profoundly sad," begins the congressional report entitled the "Iran-Contra Affair." Yet within hours of its release, committee members and staff were conceding privately that their investigation had failed to uncover, or even address, key aspects of the scandal that has dominated American politics for the past year.

"We blew it," one committee lawyer admitted to a reporter. From day one the Iran-contra investigation was undermined by publicity-seeking senators and representatives who then rushed into televised hearings before a foundation of evidence had been laid. In the end they were willing to compromise the final report in the name of politics and national security.

Yet the report takes the scandal beyond the facile question that dominated last summer's hearings: Did Ronald Reagan know of the diversion of funds from the Iran arms operation into the contra coffers? The diversion is the subject of only one six-page chapter in the 690-page report that covers the contra operations, Iran, Oliver North's "Enterprise," the official cover-up and the legal and constitutional relations between the executive and legislative branches.

The issue of the president's knowledge is replaced by a long-awaited identification of his responsibility. "The ultimate responsibility for the events in the Iran-contra affair must rest with the president," the report states. "It was the president's policy—not an isolated decision by North or Poindexter—to sell arms secretly to Iran and to maintain the contras 'body and soul,' the Boland Amendment notwithstanding."

In contrast to the Tower Commission Report, which blamed all the president's men but not the president, the Iran-contra report exposes Reagan's moral, legal and constitutional corruption of the Oval Office. He repeatedly lied to the American public, regularly deceived his cabinet members and—to this day—stands loyally by those aides who violated congressional laws, committed perjury and destroyed evidence, among other criminal acts.

The truth hurts. Reagan, according to White House Chief of Staff Howard Baker, "really, really feels personally put upon" for being given credit where credit is due.

Of course, the president's allies on the committees desperately tried to exonerate him. The minority report, signed by the eight Republicans who went out of their way to turn the hearings into a political circus, offers these disingenuous conclusions: There was "no constitutional crisis, no systematic disrespect for 'the rule of law,' no grand conspiracy and no administration-wide dishonesty or cover-up." Yet even Sen. Warren Rudman, the committees' ranking Republican, labeled this drivel "pathetic." Compared to it, the majority report seems a reasoned call for good government, renewed respect for the law of the land and a system of checks and balances that will prevent such foreign policy goblins from haunting this country in the future.

A Hollywood script: The committees have provided the public with the first comprehensive, internally documented exposé of U.S. covert operations since 1975. At that time the Church Committee published its accounts on CIA assassination plots and the 1973 overthrow of Salvador Allende's government in Chile. For this reason alone, the "Iran-Contra Affair" should be on the Christmas reading list of those who want to know how America's covert warriors subvert foreign governments.

What does one covert operative say to another? How many meetings does it take for the National Security Council to draft a letter of lies to Congress? How much does it cost for the White House illicitly to generate "freedom fighter" propaganda aimed at the hearts and minds of the American people?

These questions, among many others, are answered in the report. Drawing on hundreds of highly classified documents—many of which were not released during the hearings and are not likely to be released along with the published exhibits and depositions—the chronological narrative on Central America and Iran makes a significant contribution to the historical record of both

the contra war and the arms-for-hostages initiative.

At times the Iran-contra report reads like the Hollywood script for the next James Bond movie:

• Scene: Rob Owen, code-named "The Courier," stands on Pennsylvania Avenue outside the White House in the pouring rain waiting to give a \$3,000 bribe to Miskito con-

CAPITOL HILL

tra leader Brooklyn Rivera. "A car drove up and Owen passed cash to a Nicaraguan Indian leader sitting inside."

• Scene: Robert McFarlane puts a note inside Reagan's briefing book informing him that the Saudis have decided to pick up the tab for the contra operations. "He chose this method of informing the president of the contribution to reduce any chance that others at the president's daily briefing might become aware of the funding scheme."

• Scene: a London urinal, January 1986. Oliver North and Iranian middleman Manucher Ghorbanifar stand talking about the sale of missile parts to Iran. "Mr. Ghorbanifar took me into the bathroom," claimed North, and Ghorbanifar proposed that residuals

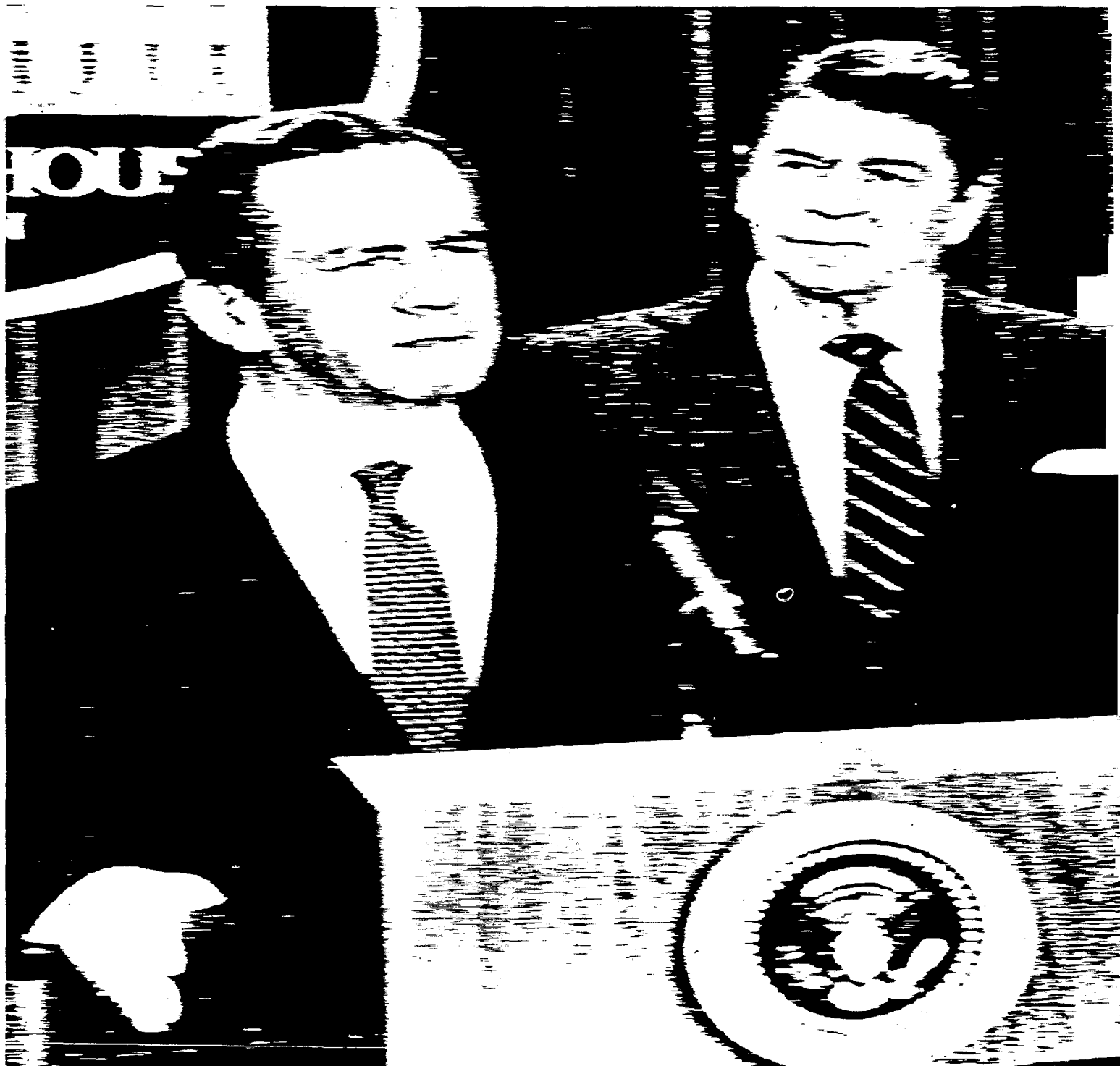
could flow to the contras.

The real cover-up: Despite the inclusion of these scenes, the report's picture of clandestine warfare is not only incomplete but misleading. The committees focused their attention on the pristine world of white-collar covert operations—how Washington's national security managers organize their missions abroad and orchestrate their lies at home. The seamy side of the Iran-contra scandal—the administration's collusion with terrorists, mercenaries and dope peddlers—is conspicuously omitted. In so doing, the committees swept the administration's "dirty wars" under the proverbial rug.

The most striking omission is that the contras have been left out of the "Iran-Contra Affair." Having turned the hearings into a nationally televised advertisement for the them, the committees conveniently excluded from the report the extraordinary documents that expose the contras as brutal, corrupt, made-in-the-USA puppets.

The Iran-contra report cites the administration's "pervasive dishonesty" in the scandal. The excluded documents show that the systematic deception extends to Reagan's glowing rhetoric about the contras. Nicaraguan democrats? "These are not the people to rebuild a new Nicaragua," Rob Owen, one of the contras' strongest supporters, wrote in a March 17, 1986, memo to his boss, "BG"—Blood and Guts—Oliver North. Freedom Fighters? "Unfortunately, they are not first-rate people; in fact, they are liars and greed and power motivated," Owen wrote.

Even North appeared to share Owen's as-



assessment that there "are few of the so-called leaders of the movement who really care about the boys in the field. *This war has become a business to many of them*" (emphasis in original). This was why North opted in July 1985 to remove control of contra monies from FDN (Nicaraguan Democratic Force) chieftain Adolfo Calero and put it in the hands of Richard Secord and Albert Hakim. North, as Secord testified, was "critical of the contras because he had been receiving reports that the limited funds they had might be getting wasted, squandered, or even worse, some people might be lining their pockets." From then on contra monies were deposited in the Lake Resources bank account in Geneva.

Rather than the nationalist force that Reagan depicts, the contras are wholly controlled by their handlers in Washington, these documents suggest. Various memoranda record North telling them when to deploy and when to retreat on the Nicaraguan battlefield, and when to come to Washington to wage a propaganda war on the congressional front. Owen reported in early 1986 that "the Nicaraguan [exile] community at large see UNO [United Nicaraguan Opposition], as well as the FDN, as entities organized and bought and paid for by the USG [United States Government]." Owen agreed, writing of Adolfo Calero, the man who the administration would install as the next president of Nicaragua: "He is a creation of the USG and so he is the horse we chose to ride."

Why did the committees exclude this information, particularly when a new Reagan

request for \$30 million in contra aid is currently pending in Congress? The nature of the contras "was not in our purview," said one committee staffer. The rumor in Washington is that the White House pressured the committees to exclude derogatory information about the contras because of Reagan's plans to request more assistance.

Terrorists, assassins and druggies: The Iran-contra report also leaves out the other terrorists that North and company enjoined in the supposed fight against terrorism. Luis Posada Carriles, the anti-Castro Cuban who served as a principal command-

The report's most significant deficiency is Congress' failure to assume any responsibility for the Iran-contra scandal.

dante of the contra resupply operation, had escaped from a Venezuelan jail where he had been held for eight years for masterminding the bombing of a Cuban jetliner in 1976. Seventy-three men, women and children were killed in the attack. Yet the "Iran-Contra Affair" refers to Posada only once, by his code-name, Ramon Medina, and identifies him not as a mass murderer but as the man who "oversaw the local fuel account."

Similarly, the report fails to identify Manzer al-Kassar, the shadowy Syrian arms trafficker who received \$1.5 million from the Lake Resources bank account for contra arms. According to *Reader's Digest*, al-Kassar has been an arms and explosives supplier "for terrorist operations in France, Spain and Holland" and has also provided assassination equipment to Libya, Iran, South Yemen and Lebanon. Ironically, al-Kassar was the arms supplier to the terrorist who Ollie North vowed to meet "face-to-face"—the infamous Abu Nidal.

The "Iran-Contra Affair" does contain new information about North's efforts to gain Justice Department clemency for Jose Bueso Rosa, a pro-contra Honduran general who in 1984 was involved in a conspiracy to assassinate Honduran President Roberto Suazo Cordoba. But the report overlooks the fact that the man North was trying to get off the hook planned to finance the assassination by smuggling \$10 million worth of cocaine into the U.S.

The report considers "drug" a four-letter word. Despite Owen's April 1, 1985, memorandum to North citing the involvement of two contra leaders in drug smuggling, and widespread evidence that mercenaries and State Department contractors aiding the contras were involved in the illegal activity, the committees censored the issue, just as they did during the hearings.

Congress and accountability: The report's most significant deficiency is not its lack of evidence but the authors' failure to assume any responsibility for the scandal.

"What Congress has not done is admitted its own responsibility," Sen. William Cohen (R-ME) told the *Washington Post* just before the report was published. Another committee member suggested, "It does not face the real issue of where Congress was deceived and where they were deceived willingly."

Indeed, a close reading of the report leads to this inescapable conclusion: The Reagan administration's commitment to break the law was second only to Congress' commit-

ment to turn a blind eye as the law was broken. Among the many examples, one typifies how intelligence oversight came to mean overlook: North's closed testimony before the House Intelligence Committee on Aug. 6, 1986—more than three months before the scandal broke.

By that time, numerous articles had appeared in the press linking North to illegal contra supply operations. The committee had asked NSC adviser John Poindexter to allow North to testify in closed session. North lied in response to every question. (Poindexter later wrote to him, "Well done.") Yet at the hearing's conclusion, according to the report, "Rep. [Lee] Hamilton [D-IN] 'expressed his appreciation for the good faith effort that Adm. Poindexter had shown in arranging a meeting and indicated his satisfaction in the responses received.' On Aug. 12 [1986], Hamilton wrote Rep. Coleman that the House Intelligence Committee would not move forward.... 'Based on our discussions and review of the evidence provided, it is my belief that the published press allegations cannot be proven.'"

Recommendations for next scandal: Both the scandal and the report offer conclusive proof of Congress' self-induced inability to make covert operations compatible with American democracy, and the unfailing dedication of America's national security managers to keep things that way. Moreover, the report documents the extraordinary threat to the American way of life that these operations portend. Buried on page 390 is the report's most significant observation: The type of operations being run by Reagan and his men represented "the path to dictatorship" for the U.S.

Yet instead of calling for a national debate

on the compatibility of covert operations with a constitutional democracy, the report endorses paramilitary wars such as the ongoing one in Nicaragua. And it does not go beyond the Tower Commission's conclusion that "the problem was people, not the process." Ignoring the overwhelming evidence of institutional criminality, the committees conclude: "The Iran-contra affair resulted from the failure of individuals to observe the law, not from deficiencies in existing law or in our system of governance."

In the end, the "Iran-Contra Affair" represents little more than a well-glossed whitewash of the very system that made the scandal possible. The committees' pathetic recommendations call for minor tinkering with the requirements of oversight reporting, and for a "renewed commitment" by the executive branch to obey the laws it has so systematically violated. Ignoring their obligation to find a remedy for the plague of rampaging covert operations, the committees have offered the nation a virtual prescription for future scandals.

Thus, Congress has forfeited a major opportunity to foster public debate on the structures, operations and objectives of the national security state—a debate that is necessary to ensure that such criminal enterprises do not return to rob the U.S. of its constitutional integrity. That is the real tragedy of Iran-contra. And that is a far bigger scandal than the egregious activities of North and company in Iran and Central America. □

Peter Kornbluh is an analyst at the National Security Archive in Washington, D.C. His new book, *Nicaragua: The Price of Intervention* has just been published by the Institute for Policy Studies.

GUESS WHO'S COMING TO DINNER.



Cancer-causing pesticides in your salad. Industrial solvents in a glass of water. Toxic emissions in your air.

You need information on these unwanted guests. You'll find it in *Environmental Action*.

Keep me informed. Enclosed is my check for \$20 for a full year—six issues—of *Environmental Action*.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Mail to: Environmental Action, 1525 New Hampshire Ave NW, Washington, DC 20036

By Dennis Sadowski

CLEVELAND

THE PEACE MOVEMENT, SEEKING TO RECLAIM the public's interest and imagination, may be getting the push it needs from the merger of the Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy and the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. The merger, resulting in SANE/Freeze, the largest peace organization in the nation with 300,000 members, brings together two very different organizations with the same goals.

With the media currently focusing on the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) accord (see stories on pages 12 and 16), most recent

PEACE MOVEMENT

peace activities have received scant attention. By joining forces, the new SANE/Freeze is expected to be a more powerful organization with a strong Washington, D.C., base supported by hundreds of affiliates nationwide.

The merger signifies the peace movement's "coming of age," according to David Cortright, former SANE director who now co-directs the new organization with the Freeze's Carolyn Cottom. "We are...building a permanent, large-scale movement," he said.

The selection of Rev. William Sloane Coffin as president gives SANE/Freeze a high profile figure to capture the public's eye. Long active in peace and civil rights work, Coffin is expected to garner publicity and further legitimize the organization's goals.

Coffin, 63, will resign from his ministerial post at Riverside Church in New York City on December 31. He plans to travel widely across the U.S., talking with local peace activists and the media. "You really have to be together to have some kind of effect," Coffin noted. "I think a merged organization shows we really are serious about what we're doing."

Such views were echoed throughout the three-day SANE/Freeze founding congress held in Cleveland in late November, which drew more than 1,000 peace organizers. Although questions remain on the relationship of local groups to the national office based in Washington, D.C., delegates were excited about the prospect of higher visibility and, they hope, greater influence in U.S. disarmament and foreign policy decisions.

Top down or bottom up? There are, however, significant differences between the two organizations (see *In These Times*, June 24). The plan is to capitalize on these differences in creating an effective political operation.

SANE, which celebrated its 30th anniversary in October, is built from the top down, with a strong national lobbying office and an agenda that goes beyond arms control. Its large membership has been built primarily through a door-to-door canvass in targeted areas of the country. But members remain largely passive when it comes to political action.

The Freeze, on the other hand, was built from the bottom up with grass-roots organizers lobbying Congress and setting policy through local, state or regional offices. As a result, a strong national identity never evolved for the seven-year-old movement—though periodic highly publicized events such as marches, caravans and congressional lobbying days gained plenty of attention. Funds raised locally remained with local Freeze groups. And although a few of the 1,800 affiliates have budgets of more than

FOUNDING National Congress SANE/FREEZE



Rev. William Sloane Coffin, the new SANE/Freeze president.

The SANE/Freeze merger: nuclear safety in numbers?

\$100,000 annually, the national Freeze office is poorly funded.

Both organizations appear to benefit from the merger. SANE gets a much-needed local grass-roots base, while the Freeze gets much more visibility in the nation's capital.

The differences have been discussed during more than two years of talks between both organizations' board members. After tentative approval for the merger was given at the 1986 Freeze national congress, a transition team hammered out a formal agreement as staffs merged. The agreement was overwhelmingly approved 201-1 (five abstentions) by official chapter delegates to the congress.

Merger questions: But many delegates saw the merger as a "blind leap of faith" in

the hope that concerns over local funding of the national office and local autonomy on issues would be resolved. SANE/Freeze leaders, apparently hearing those concerns throughout merger discussions, scheduled for the congress two workshops and a panel presentation on the merger. During those sessions, local organizers expressed concern that their funding base would be eroded by the need to keep a large national office functioning.

No one from the transition team nor Cottom and Cortright could answer those questions definitively. The breakdown of national/local funding won't be known until local chapters begin affiliating, the delegates kept hearing.

Yet the lack of specifics has not deterred

Officials vote on the SANE/Freeze merger. The move passed 201-1.



many local groups from merging and affiliating quickly. Chapters in Illinois, New York City, central New Jersey and Southern California had merged and affiliated before the congress, giving SANE/Freeze an early base of support. And groups not tied to either organization sent representatives to learn what an affiliation could mean for them.

Given that 1988 is a crucial election year and plenty of support must be gained for the INF treaty pending Senate ratification, other local chapters are expected to affiliate

The new group's top priorities are INF treaty ratification in the Senate and a bilateral nuclear test ban. Halting Star Wars is another important goal.

quickly, especially in areas where one group predominates.

Chapters will continue to set their own priorities on issues, Cottom acknowledged. "I don't see how national will take away peoples' autonomy," she said. "We will discuss strategy but we won't be dictating the issues or local policy decisions."

Priorities and strategies: In keeping with the aim of grass-roots decision making, delegates at the congress participated in small-group discussions on legislative strategies and organizational priorities for 1988. They then voted on issues pertaining to the arms race, economic conversion and U.S. intervention abroad, as well as priorities for the 1988 elections.

Gaining top priority were INF treaty ratification in the Senate and a bilateral nuclear test ban. Secondary work will focus on blocking the Trident submarine and its array of 240 D-5 warheads; eliminating funding of Star Wars research and development; working in coalition against U.S. foreign intervention, especially in Central America; and cutting the military budget. Other priorities are forming a Peace Caucus in Congress, reducing strategic nuclear warhead stockpiles, improving lobbying at the local level, and halting the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons.

SANE/Freeze has set high goals—and given itself a short period of time to reach them—in order to regain the high ground from the Reagan administration. Strategists have mapped plans for a "Decade of International Peacemaking" to start after the 1988 presidential election. The undertaking calls for the formation of a Commission on the Year 2000 to direct efforts to reduce the world's nuclear arsenals, lessen the risk of regional conflicts, promote common security and develop models for cooperative conflict resolution through citizen peacemaking alternatives. An International Conference on Common Security and General Disarmament would inaugurate the decade.

The organization projects membership to triple by 1992 to 1 million as each current member recruits two others. As Randall Forberg, director of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies and the "mother" of the Freeze, explained, "The movement is in the process of being institutionalized. I think people are out there who want to participate."

Dennis Sadowski is a freelance journalist based in Cleveland.

By Diana Johnstone

ROME

THE ITALIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY WAS FIRMLY opposed to sending Italian warships to the Persian Gulf. Italian intelligence advised against it. Italian traders said no, alarmed that Italian naval "protection" would make the Gulf too dangerous for their shipping.

But on September 4, the Italian cabinet headed by Prime Minister Giovanni Gorla decided to send a naval task force to the Gulf. This was a significant step in the revival of an ugly European chauvinism that may go down as one of the major accomplishments of President Reagan's term in office.

The influence of Reaganism is waning, but its last gasps are being used to fire up the Europeans to take on the traditional "white man's burden" against the barbarians. Today's outstanding "barbarians" are, of course, the Iranians.

But for a long time Italian foreign policy has had quite a different orientation. The defeat of fascism discredited imperialist conquest. Influenced by Vatican II and increasingly supported by the Italian Communist Party (PCI), the Christian Democrats (DC) developed a policy of promoting understanding and reconciliation between the West and ex-colonial countries. Even when Italy was persuaded to send troops into Lebanon after the Israeli invasion in 1982, the Italian soldiers won the affection of the local people by behaving more like Red Cross workers than like soldiers. Unlike the French and Americans, they avoided being bombed by terrorists.

A new nationalism: Christian Democratic Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti has been determined to maintain this successful course against strong U.S. pressure. And in the crisis following the hijacking of the *Achille Lauro* two years ago, Socialist Prime Minister Bettino Craxi seemed to back Andreotti in resisting being stampeded into a bellicose posture by the U.S.

Craxi was the hero of the so-called "Sigonella incident" of October 1985, the sharpest public clash between the U.S. and Italy since World War II. After U.S. jets forced the Egyptian airliner with the *Achille Lauro* hijackers aboard to land at Sigonella air base in Sicily, it was surrounded by U.S. Delta Force troops who threatened Italian guards. But Craxi stood up to midnight telephone calls from the White House and refused to turn the passengers over to the U.S.

"The shock of Sigonella was necessary to Craxi, to appeal to the nationalist feelings of the social strata the Italian Socialist Party (CPSE) wants to attract," explains foreign policy analyst Giampaolo Calchi-Novati, head of a Rome research institute and editor of the review *Politica Internazionale*. And indeed, U.S. right-wing strategist Edward Luttwak recently told Italians that "we are glad if you gave us slaps at Sigonella" if it helps Italy "exercise its responsibilities." What has mattered to the U.S. right has been to arouse European nationalism.

Since then, a series of incidents, starting with the December 1985 Rome airport massacre attributed to Palestinian terrorist Abu Nidal, have brought a marked shift in the public mood. Recently, incidents of much less gravity have been blown up by the press to build a mood of belligerent exasperation with Iran.

Last July a new government headed by

Setting sail toward a new world of ugly European chauvinism

Christian Democratic Prime Minister Giovanni Gorla was sworn in. Two days later U.S. Ambassador Maxwell Rabb went to see the new Defense Minister Valerio Zanone, a member of the small conservative Liberal Party. Rabb gave Zanone a letter from Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger asking for Italian naval support in the Gulf. This pointed snub of Foreign Minister Andreotti

ITALY

was repeated in early August when National Security Adviser Frank Carlucci omitted Italy from his tour of European capitals.

Meanwhile, France and Britain sent ships to the Gulf and joined in putting pressure on the Italians. In mid-August British Foreign Office Undersecretary David Mellor attacked Italy for opting out of its duty in the Gulf. The Italian press gave Mellor big play.

Pressing the issue: Many observers are puzzled at just why the Italian press, led by the respected daily *La Repubblica*, has worked so hard to promote a "tough" Italian posture in the Mediterranean and now in the Gulf. The phenomenon recalls the yellow press that built popular constituencies in Western countries for the imperialist wave of conquest a century ago.

Italy got its very own "Tonkin Gulf" incident in the Persian Gulf last September 3 when shots were fired from an unidentified light craft at an Italian merchant ship *Jolly Rubino*. Nobody was hit but the captain fell down and hurt himself. The media went into an uproar. Italy's honor had been challenged.

The very next day the Italian cabinet decided to send a task force of minesweepers and frigates to the Gulf. (The *Jolly Rubino* may have been an illegal gunrunner, but that's another story.)

The switch in policy was accomplished when Socialist leader Bettino Craxi, who largely controls the Gorla government, act-

ing through Deputy Premier Giuliano Amato, decided to go with the hysteria worked up by the press. A survey published by *La Stampa* showed that the percentage of Italians in favor of going to the Gulf had edged ahead of those opposed, 41.4 percent to 38.6 percent, with the rest uncertain. Military intervention was finally popular. Craxi was for it.

Editorialists exulted. Enzo Bettiza in the *Corriere della Sera* hailed Italy's "first historic sortie after a 40-year political, diplomatic and military convalescence."

The politics of all this were clear by the Socialist Party newspaper *Avanti!*, which boasted that the decision was "the result of the Socialist and laic initiative, while the Christian Democratic Party for the first time finds itself isolated in a field that traditionally was almost exclusively its own: foreign policy and relations with the West."

In the ensuing parliamentary debate, Andreotti tried rather feebly to insist that by sending warships Italy was not abandoning its policy of acting through the United Nations, and that the Italian task force was on a strictly limited mission to protect merchant shipping.

"Frightened rabbits": These explanations were dismissed as humbug a month later at a geopolitical forum in Rimini by Luttwak, an influential U.S. security consultant. Speaking in clear Italian, he said the Western naval forces were in the Gulf not only to protect shipping but to "threaten Iran" and "like it or not, to create the bases and preconditions for a broader intervention." Theoretically, this could go so far as to "disembark entire armies." He said nobody is thinking of that, of course, but the Iranians can't dismiss the possibility. The role of the Western fleet is to "permit Iraqi attacks against Iran and not allow Iranian attacks against the countries that support Iraq."

Luttwak noted that "for the first time in

the 40 years since the Second World War, the Italian political class has been obliged to define a strategic position. This is such an unusual activity that they ran in all directions like frightened rabbits...."

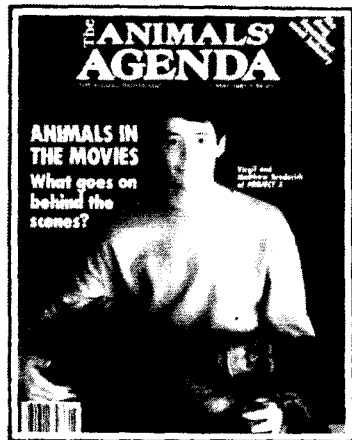
Luttwak said no war could be considered entirely negative, that every catastrophe has its silver lining. The Iran-Iraq war had already had "positive aspects," by "neutralizing the Iranian revolutionary potential" and "cutting short Baghdad's attempt to create a sort of regional superpower." And then, selling munitions meant "money and jobs...." **Left reaction:** This "rational Western realism" was rejected by the left opposition parties, Communist and the others, but most firmly by the Catholic left, which led the peace demonstrations protesting against the military expedition. Christian Democratic Sen. Domenico Rosati strongly expressed the "Catholic objection" not only to war but to everything that prepares for war and neglects efforts to prevent it. This was not, said Rosati, a matter of the "residual Third Worldism" contemptuously dismissed by Craxi but of a "moral conscience which cannot be left at the door in the name of political reason."

Craxi answered in *Avanti!*, attacking the ghost of the "historic compromise" between Catholics and Communists, as well as Third Worldism. Foreign policy analyst Calchi-Novati points out that Craxi is out to destroy whatever remains of that compromise. A compassionate policy toward the Third World was part of the PCI-DC understanding. An *Avanti!* columnist described this peace-loving attitude as a sort of Catholic-Communist "nationalism" that by making Italy "different" would cut it off from Europe and the West.

Instead the PSI and the laic parties, under the banner of Western "reason," are busily reviving the European imperialist spirit.

There remains the serious question, raised by Sen. Rosati, of who if anybody will be left to pursue peace-making efforts. Rosati saw the risk of Italy going from "the role of the first of the persuaders to the last of the dissuaders." And he asked whether in relations with Third World peoples dialogue was to be replaced by attempts at military conditioning. □

Animals. Do they matter?



Be part of the rapidly growing movement for animal rights. Read The ANIMALS' AGENDA, the independent magazine of the animal rights movement.

The ANIMALS' AGENDA gives you news, views and articles about animal rights, welfare and protection, and about the people who are making animal rights one of the major issues of the '80's. A whole movement in one magazine.

The ANIMALS' AGENDA is the only magazine independent of an animal rights membership group. We bring you all the issues, all the activity on behalf of the animals, plus what you can do to make a difference. Our contributing editors, activists and thinkers from the U.S. and elsewhere, keep you in touch! 10 issues per year. Subscribe today!

☐ **YES, Sign me up for The ANIMALS' AGENDA.**

☐ 1 yr. \$18.00 ☐ 2 yrs. \$33.50 ☐ 3 yrs. \$45.00

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

41T88X

Mail to: The ANIMALS' AGENDA, Subscription Dept., Box 6809, Syracuse, NY 13217



Reagan's arms c to be a failed president

By Alan L. Gilchrist

RECENT EVENTS HAVE SHAKEN THE REAGAN administration and left our acting president with a dilemma worthy of Hamlet: to be a failed president or not to be a Reaganite.

But this drama need not have a tragic ending. If, as Albert Einstein once observed, nuclear weapons have changed everything except our thinking, then the prospect of a U.S.-Soviet agreement now presents the hope that thinking may begin to change. For the first time in the nuclear arms race the superpowers are prepared to eliminate an entire category of nuclear weapons.

It is ironic that this may happen during Ronald Reagan's reign. After opposing every arms control agreement with the Soviet Union, Reagan came into office in 1981 proclaiming the U.S. could employ nuclear weapons in a limited nuclear war. His secretary of defense developed a plan for a protracted nuclear war, and his secretary of state talked of a "nuclear warning shot" across the Soviet bow.

Reagan's triumphant rhetoric reactivated a worldwide peace movement that had been dormant since the collapse of Nixon's policy of detente. In response, the administration sanitized its language, paying vice's tribute to virtue by observing that "nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought."

Yet while the greatest military buildup in history continued unabated and Reaganites scorned arms control, they had inherited ongoing INF treaty negotiations from Jimmy Carter. The unilateral withdrawal from the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty talks—within sight of agreement—indicated that Reagan would have preferred to avoid negotiations. But there was no choice. The deployment of the Pershing II-missiles in Europe was irrevocably linked to negotiations by NATO's dual-track "deploy-negotiate" plan.

Dual-track approach: In the '70s the Soviets began to replace their aging SS-4 and SS-5 missiles with new SS-20 missiles. They said the move represented modernization, but the NATO allies saw an escalation that demanded a response either to build up the NATO missile force or negotiate down the Soviet force.

In 1979 a dual-track compromise was struck. The West would build new missiles while simultaneously negotiating with the Soviets for the removal of the SS-20s. If negotiations did not succeed within four years, the new NATO missiles would be deployed.

In 1981, as this strategy was in mid-course, Reagan took the reins of arms control. As his chief negotiator he chose Paul Nitze, who was head of the Committee on the Present Danger that had been formed in the mid-'70s to oppose ratification of the SALT II treaty. Nitze had a strange background for an arms control negotiator. In 1950, when nuclear negotiations had just begun, he wrote that to rally public support for the arms race, U.S. leaders should regularly present reasonable-sounding disarmament proposals that the Soviets were

unlikely to accept. If the Russians showed unexpected flexibility, Nitze said, "we would have to consider very seriously whether we could accept such agreements."

Finally, under pressure from mass anti-missile demonstrations across Europe, negotiations began. Faced with ally Helmut Kohl's discomfiture at the turn the 1982 West German elections were taking, the Reagan team opened up with the striking zero option proposal designed, in Reagan's words, to "eliminate an entire class of weapons from the face of the earth." If the Soviets would destroy—not merely remove—all 650 of their SS-4, SS-5, and SS-20 missiles in Europe, the U.S. would forego deploying the missiles it was building, but had not yet installed.

As a ploy to avoid serious negotiations while neutralizing anti-deployment public sentiment in Europe, the zero option was a winner. Its simplistic "zero nuclear missiles" thrust made it a suitable focus for the public relations campaign the administration had been losing in Europe. But it was not a serious arms control proposal—a fact acknowledged only after the Soviets had accepted it.

The 650-zero option: Why was the zero option, for all its appeal, unrealistic in 1983? Because it applied only to those land-based missiles in the range 500 to 1,000 miles but less than 3,000 miles. While U.S. and Soviet nuclear forces in Europe had been at rough parity for 20 years, the two sides differed on each side. Only the Soviets had land-based missiles in the range prohibited by the zero option. The Reagan proposal, however reasonable it appeared, actually amounted to a plan for unilateral disarmament in Europe by the Soviet Union. 650 Soviet missiles would have to go with no withdrawal of any U.S. weapons. The proposal might reasonably have been called the "650-zero" option.

Moreover, as Paul Winkler, the chief U.S. negotiator for SALT II pointed out in 1983, the Soviets would also be required to "reduce Britain's and France's intermediate range nuclear forces, our F-111 fighter bombers stationed in the United Kingdom, our Spahn fleet aircraft that carry nuclear weapons, the Poseidon missiles assigned for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization defense and the proposed deployment of sea-launched cruise missiles on attack submarines and surface ships. My own negotiating experience makes me skeptical that the Russians will be this accommodating."

In fact, the Soviets did not accept the zero option. Instead, in December 1982 Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev offered a 400-zero option. He would reduce Soviet missiles from 650 down to 250 if the U.S. would cancel its plans for the new missiles. When Brezhnev died only two weeks later, the new leader, Yuri Andropov, offered a further reduction of Soviet missiles to 162—exactly the number

required to match British and French medium-range missiles.

But Reagan refused, arguing that the U.S. had no say over British and French missiles. To this Andropov replied, "Are those missiles aimed at the Falkland Islands?" By November 1983 Andropov had come down to 120. But progress again halted. Five days later the U.S. began deploying the new Pershing II missiles. Then on Nov. 23, 1983, the Soviets walked out of the talks.

No incentive: Once the Pershings were deployed, a fatal flaw in the zero option began to emerge. Before the actual deployment, the U.S.' political ability to carry it out remained unproven. Thus the zero option offered the Soviets no incentive to agree. But the actual presence of U.S. missiles that were now subject to removal made the proposal more balanced and attractive from the Soviet perspective. The clever ploy that got the weapons into Europe could not keep them there since deployment would inevitably sweeten the deal.

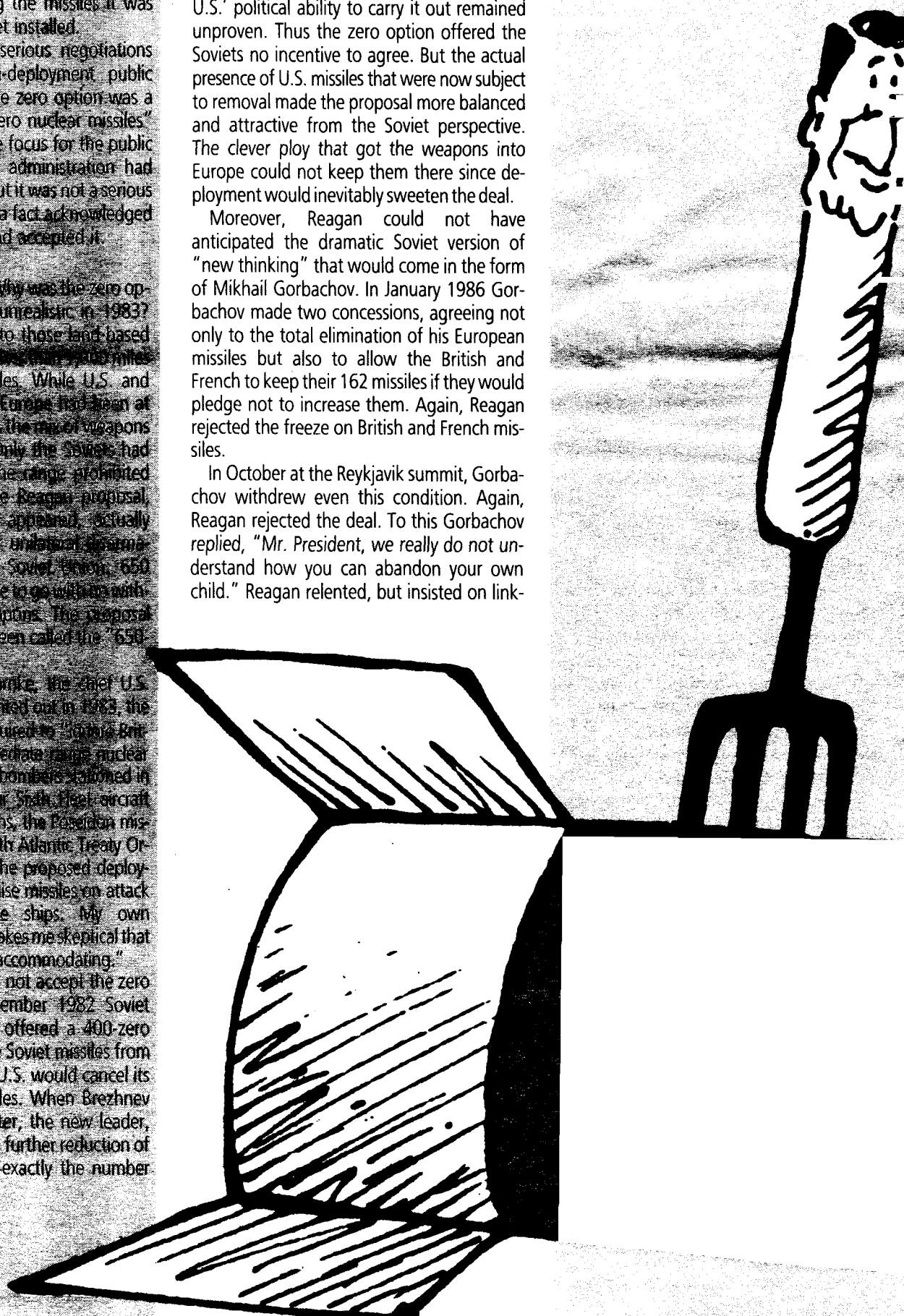
Moreover, Reagan could not have anticipated the dramatic Soviet version of "new thinking" that would come in the form of Mikhail Gorbachov. In January 1986 Gorbachov made two concessions, agreeing not only to the total elimination of his European missiles but also to allow the British and French to keep their 162 missiles if they would pledge not to increase them. Again, Reagan rejected the freeze on British and French missiles.

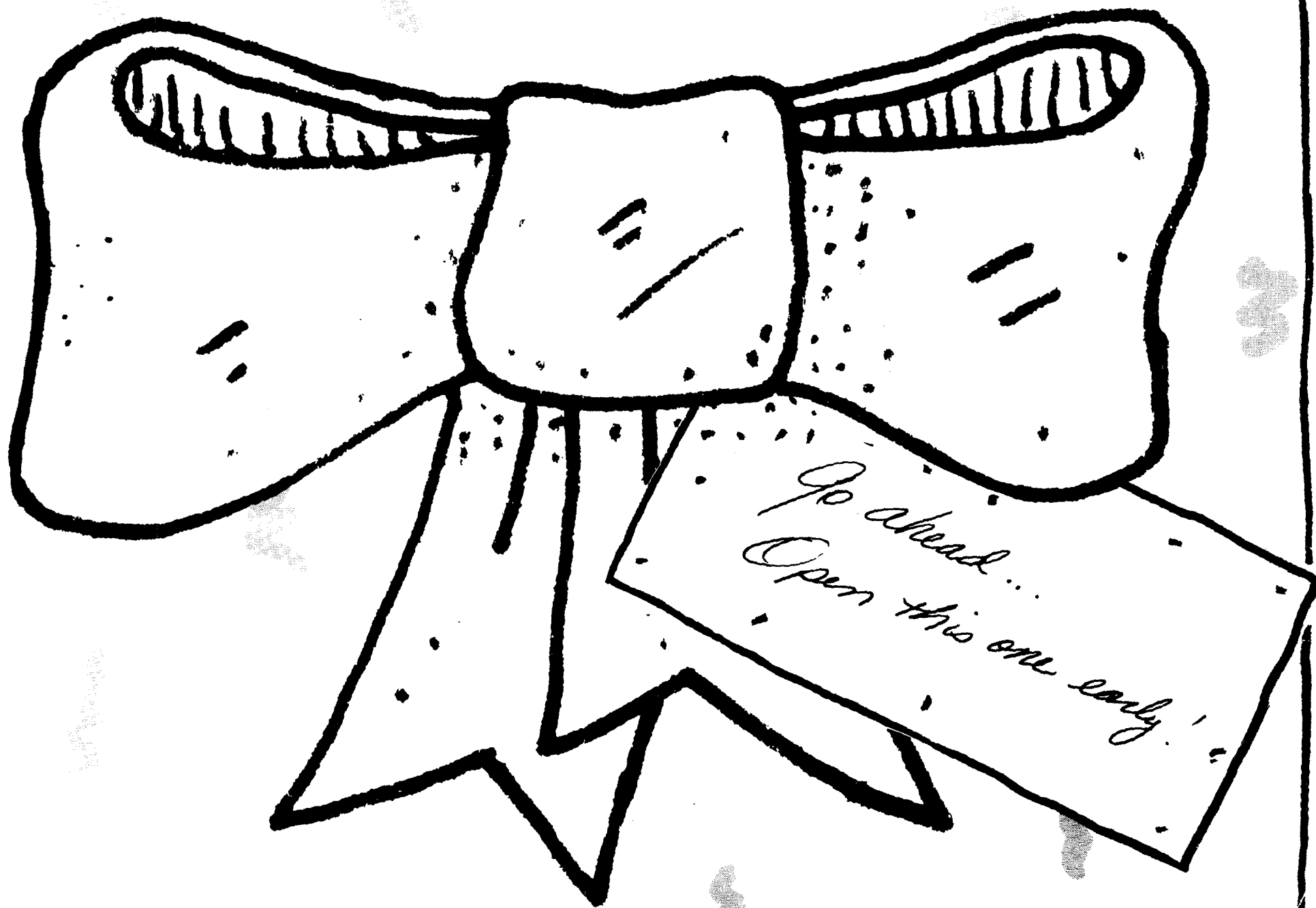
In October at the Reykjavik summit, Gorbachov withdrew even this condition. Again, Reagan rejected the deal. To this Gorbachov replied, "Mr. President, we really do not understand how you can abandon your own child." Reagan relented, but insisted on link-

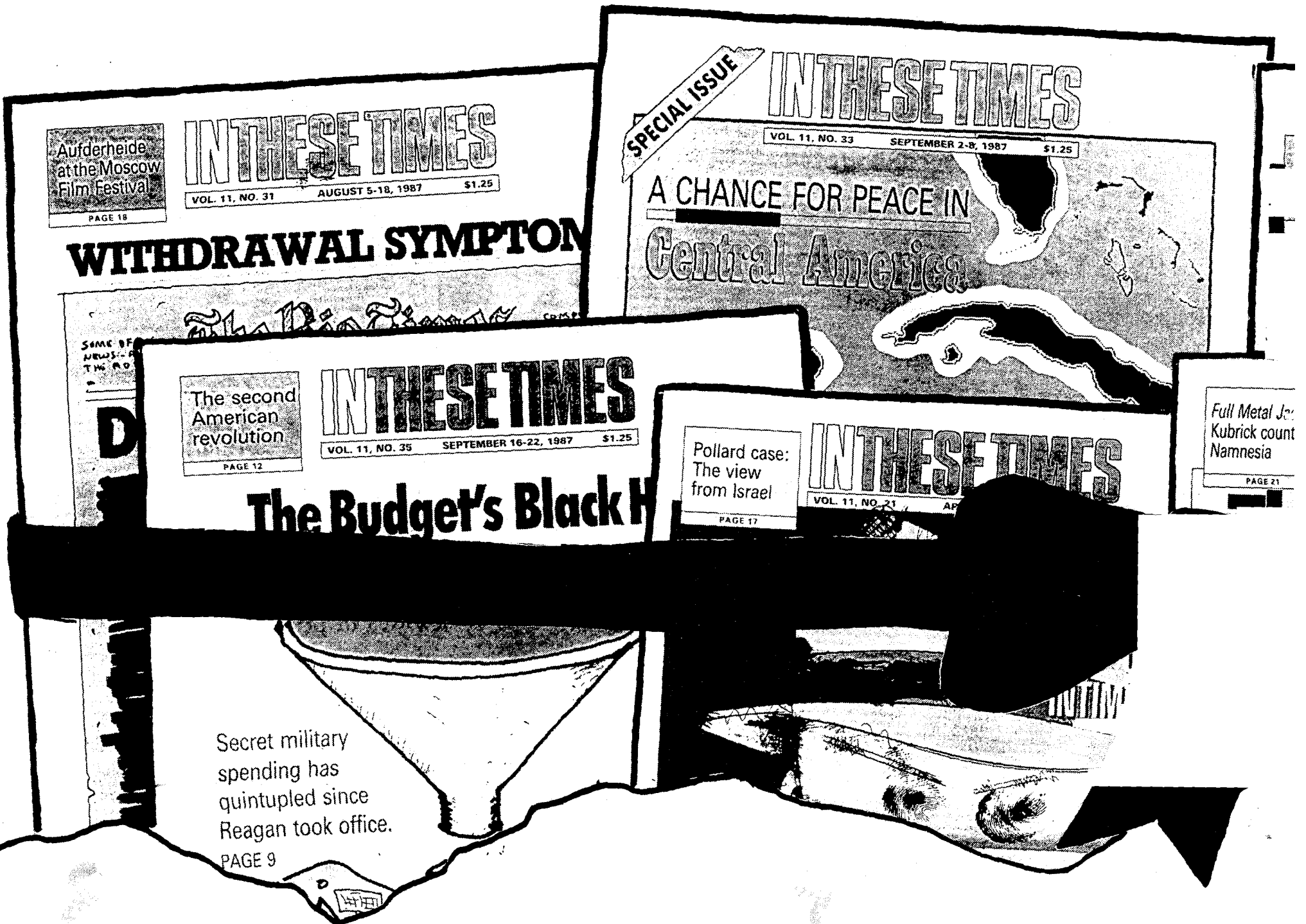
ing INF to the right to test SDI weapons in space. At this point, the whole package negotiated at Reykjavik, including the European missile deal, collapsed.

After the summit, the Soviets began to float the possibility of severing the proposed INF agreement from the Star Wars question on which the parties were so far apart. But the administration's bitter post-summit recriminations and backsliding from the substance of the Reagan-Gorbachov agreement made an INF treaty appear more distant than ever.

Paradoxically, it was the discovery of a







FIRST GIFT

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

XHF08

☐ New order ☐ Renewal
☐ One year \$34.95 ☐ 29 issues \$18.95

SECOND GIFT

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

XHF08

☐ New order ☐ Renewal
☐ One year \$24.95 ☐ 29 issues \$16.95

THIRD GIFT

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

XHF08

☐ New order ☐ Renewal
☐ One year \$19.95 ☐ 29 issues \$14.95

My Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

- ☐ Payment enclosed
☐ Bill me after Jan. 1, 1988
☐ Charge my MC/VISA

Acct. # _____

Exp. date _____

Or call toll free
1-800-435-0715.

In Illinois call 1-800-892-0753.

A handsome gift card will be sent announcing your gift. All gifts will begin with the first issue in January. Please write any additional gifts on a separate sheet of paper. Each gift being sent outside the U.S. please add \$13.00 postage for one year and \$6.50 postage for 29 issues.



SPECIAL HOLIDAY GIFT SALE!

This year give your friends 246 shorts, 369 articles, 34 people, 41 inside stories, and 123 cultural reviews in one neatly wrapped package.

IN THESE TIMES

IN THESE TIMES is a political statement. It provides the balance to network news, reaching out with ideas and opinions not "safe" for publications that are controlled by advertisers.

Give all the people on your gift list the gift they're sure to enjoy.

As a holiday gift to you I've arranged for special prices. Your first 41 issues gift is only \$34.95, your second only \$24.95 and the rest only \$19.95! Make one your own renewal and you've made the giving even easier. If you prefer, 29 issues are only \$18.95 for the first gift, \$16.95 for the second and only \$14.95 for all the rest!

Just fill in the gift tags and we'll do the rest, we'll even send the gift cards.

IN THESE TIMES, 1912 Debs Avenue, Mt. Morris, IL 61054

Somos la garganta
de América,

El nuevo canto
de América...

We are the throat
of America,

The new song
of America...

Luis Enrique Mejía Godoy



paredon records
music of liberation from around the world

Qty.	Title	Price	Total

☐ Free catalog.

☐ Send group rate info.

Subtotal

+ Shipping/Handling: 15%

+ 6% Tax (Calif. only)

Total Amount Enclosed

Ship Order To:

name

address

city/state/zip

Paredon Record - Dept. I

PO Box 11260/Oakland CA 94611/USA/(415) 261-7015

AMANDLA (Swedish Labour Movement Record Company, 1980)

First available recording of the premier cultural group of the African National Congress, Amandla. "Receive, then, friends, the rhythmic thudding dance of the advancing fighters for freedom, the songs for national liberation." Fantastic! Translations included. Import. *Album or cassette (please specify).* \$11.00

HAITI: KI SA POU-N FE?/ WHAT IS TO BE DONE? (Atis Independan, 1975)

Expressive music with lyrics the tourist could never imagine. Creole lyrics. *Album only.* \$9.00

EL SALVADOR: POR ESO LUCHAMOS/THIS IS WHY WE'RE FIGHTING

(Cutumay Camones, 1985)
"The songs of Cutumay Camones are songs of the struggle in El Salvador. Listen to them and you will get to know the people that we often only read about in newspapers."—Holly Near. *Album or cassette (please specify).* \$9.00

CUBA: RABO DE NUBE/ TAIL OF A TORNADO (Silvio Rodriguez, 1982)

First U.S. solo release by acclaimed poet, singer/songwriter. "Contains some of his finest work." (Colorado Daily) Spanish lyrics. *Album only.* \$9.00

NICARAGUA: UN SON PARA MI PUEBLO/A "SON" FOR MY PEOPLE (Luis Enrique Mejía Godoy & Grupo Mancotal)

"The voice of the new Nicaragua." —Margaret Randall. "Exuberant" (In These Times) Spanish lyrics. *Album only.* \$9.00

NICARAGUA: YO SOY DEL PUEBLO CENCILLO (Luis Enrique Mejía Godoy, New Society Products, 1984)

Major *volcanto* composer joined by Cuba's Sara Gonzalez and others. Spanish lyrics. No translations. *Album only.* \$10.00

NOS-OTROS (Igni Tawanka, 1986)

Friends of Nicaraguan Culture
This outstanding jazz-influenced blend comes from one of Nicaragua's oldest and most sophisticated *volcanto* groups. Danceable tunes with revolutionary lyrics. Spanish; no translations. *Cassette only.* \$10.00

Paredon releases include booklet with lyrics, translations and resource guide.

Control dilemma:

Reagan's choice

White House junta rejecting diplomacy in favor of secret adventures that gave arms control diplomacy its final impetus. William Casey, John Poindexter, Oliver North, Robert MacFarlane—that whole team of “American heroes”—succeeded, through deceit, law breaking and colossal bad judgment, where the opposition had failed. They focused public attention on Reagan’s utter failure to achieve tangible foreign policy results in six years.

The search began for at least one foreign policy success to rinse away the bitter taste of scandal and failure. With the assistance of Nancy Reagan, the White House was infused with new moderation.

The path was obvious and time-honored. Like Nixon before him, Reagan threw conservative ideology to the winds and fell back on the immense popularity he could win from the public desire for disarmament, knowing that an arms reduction treaty negotiated by a conservative, anti-communist president is protected from the kind of attack Reagan himself had launched against SALT II. Like Nixon, Reagan knew he could count on his conservative credentials to neutralize arms control opponents.

Gorbachov, too, recognized the moment. Within 48 hours of the release of the critical Tower Commission Report, he announced his final concession. De-linking INF from Star Wars, Gorbachov offered to accept the zero option unconditionally.

Those who recognized that the zero option had been a public relations ploy and not a proposal recoiled. Former National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft backedpedaled: “It is true that the U.S. first proposed the zero option in 1981. But having made that error, basically on the grounds that the Soviets would never accept it, is no justification for persisting in it when its realization seems possible.” He urged Reagan to drop his own proposal. But this would have compounded the appearance of disarray in Reagan’s already shaky administration.

Reason to cheer? Reagan chose arms control and an INF treaty was negotiated. The most vigorous presidential opponent of arms control in postwar U.S. history is signing an arms control treaty. Are there grounds for celebration?

Many arms control supporters are cynical about the treaty, saying not only that it makes little difference in the overall picture, but also that just 3 percent of the total nuclear warheads will be destroyed. This view is too narrow, however. It ignores both the structure of the nuclear arsenals and the force of such a treaty at this moment in history.

Consider the following implications of the treaty:

• **It is the first turnaround in the arms race.** Prior treaties only put limits on the arms race. Although those limitations have had a

positive effect, this treaty will mean the public dismantling of almost 1,000 missiles and almost 2,000 warheads—the first large-scale destruction of nuclear weapons. It will be seen around the world on television and is a concrete example of the meaning of arms control.

• **It will eliminate Pershing II missiles.**

They are widely regarded as the most dangerous of all. Launched from Germany by buttons in Washington, they would strike the Soviet heartland in less than 10 minutes. Called “decapitation” weapons, they are designed to blow up underground Soviet command headquarters. They would be the spearhead of any first strike, and their removal means a real “stand-down” in the arms race.

• **It has created arms-control momentum.**

The greatest cause for hope in this treaty lies in the tremendous momentum it will give the arms control process. Some worry that the INF treaty will defuse the disarmament movement, as the partial test ban treaty did in 1963. But this is not what treaty opponents fear. Lawrence Eagleburger, former undersecretary of state for political affairs, recently grouched that the real danger in the treaty is that a precedent is set that every president, no matter how conservative, must negotiate arms control treaties. Journalist George Will laments that “arms control agreements whet thirsts they are supposed to slake. The INF agreement will energize the forces pushing for denuclearization of Europe.” He regrets that “Reagan’s recent rhetoric has contributed to the stigmatization of nuclear weapons.” Eagleburger and Will are right. The treaty will strengthen peace forces, not weaken them.

If the INF treaty is adopted, what lies ahead? The crucial next treaty would mandate a 50 percent reduction in strategic weapons but it is deadlocked on the Star Wars issue. To grasp the significance of the deadlock one must be clear about the pivotal role of the ABM treaty signed in 1972.

As president, Nixon contemplated carrying out a proposal he had earlier made as vice president: to use nuclear weapons against Vietnam. But he didn’t, recognizing that the U.S. was itself vulnerable to retaliation. His change of thinking is enshrined in seven major arms control treaties he signed, including the cornerstone of them all—the ABM treaty. There each side pledged not to seek a defense against nuclear missiles. With no defense against retaliation, the weapons cannot be used aggressive-

ly. The aggressor is open to a nuclear response. Foregoing defense, in the topsy-turvy world of nuclear strategy, means foregoing offense. Thus the ABM treaty represented a mutual guarantee against first use.

This greatly alarmed the right wing, which initiated a counterattack. The agenda? To stop the “mad momentum of arms control,” said former Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs Richard Perle, justifying his sobriquet “The Prince of Darkness.” Beginning in 1976 with the “Team-B” report and the formation of the Committee on the Present Danger, picking up steam with Carter’s inability to get SALT II ratified by the Senate, and culminating in the Reagan presidency, this movement came terrifyingly close to its goals. The Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) was its alternative to arms control. The space shield was depicted by Reagan as providing more security than shaky treaties signed by untrustworthy Russians. SALT II’s numerical limits were violated by the Reagan administration and the groundwork laid for abrogating ABM as well.

The Soviet option: Now ABM and SDI hang on opposite sides of the balance. If the U.S. builds a space shield, the Soviets might try to construct their own shield. But the U.S. lead in technology would make this difficult and perhaps impossible. Moreover, that effort could prove trying to a Soviet economy that demands greater domestic spending. The cheaper and more certain response is for the Soviets to build more missiles. If a U.S. space shield could stop 75 percent of the Soviet missiles, the Soviets could simply quadruple their missiles to maintain the same absolute deterrent capacity. The last thing the Soviets would do if we build Star Wars is agree to reduce the number of ICBMs they can muster.

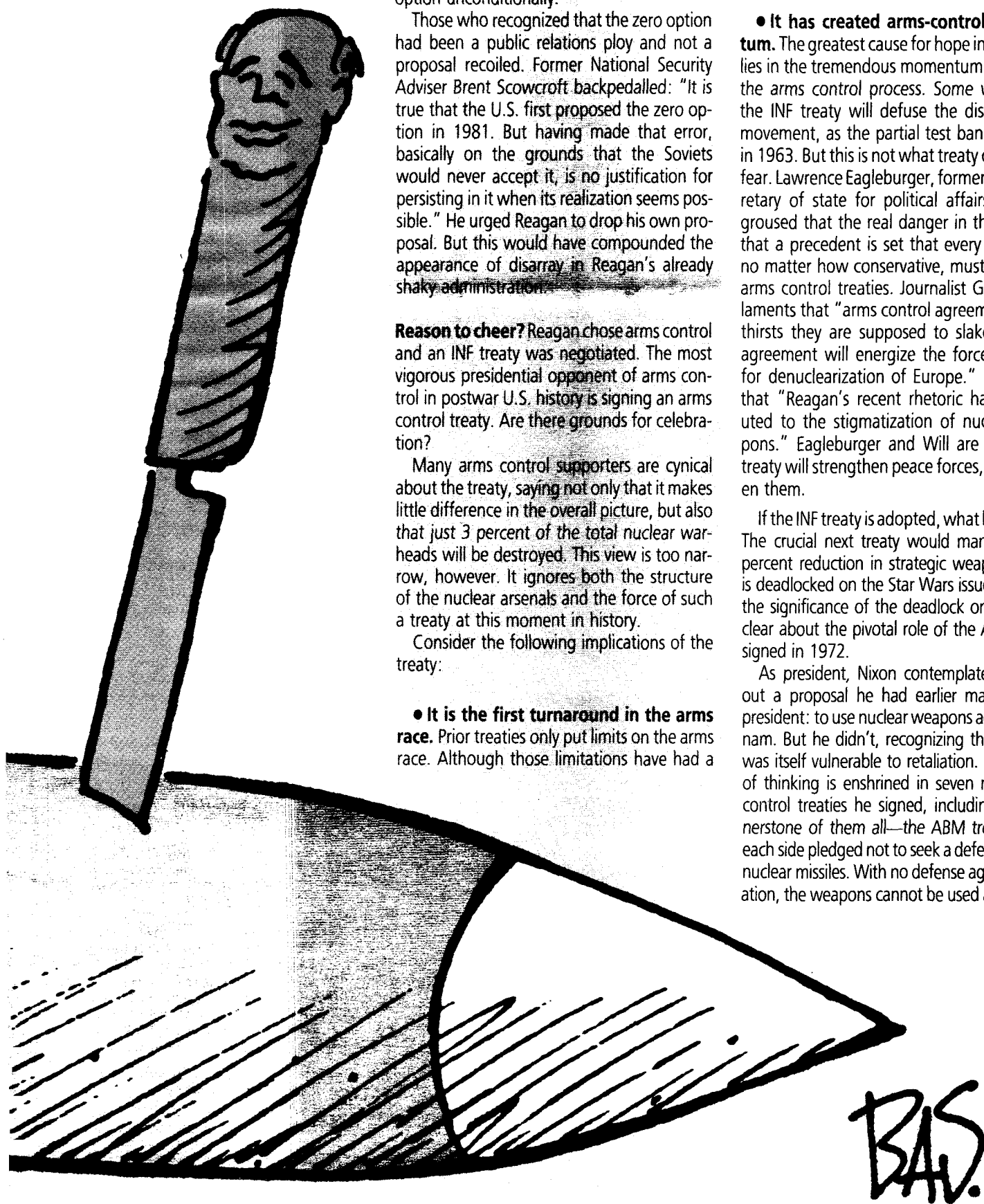
Thus chances seem remote for a treaty on strategic weapons during Reagan’s term. Reagan has never wavered on Star Wars and powerful interest groups continue to defend it. Yet chances for an INF treaty seemed equally remote during most of the past seven years.

Star Wars is already in trouble. In April the American Physical Society authoritatively declared its skepticism regarding the plan, and congressional support is flagging. And Reagan will retire without the early deployment.

With the president’s policies in the Persian Gulf and Central America in a state of confusion, the brightest point of his foreign policy, ironically, is in the improving U.S.-Soviet relations. In signing INF, Reagan has chosen arms control and his own popularity over the anti-Soviet, anti-arms control rhetoric that was the *raison d’etat* of his early administration. The INF treaty will polish up Reagan’s tarnished image; his place in history would be guaranteed by a follow-up treaty cutting strategic weapons by 50 percent.

But each arms control victory for Reagan is a defeat for Reaganism. It’s Reagan’s choice. □

Alan L. Gilchrist is a professor of psychology at Rutgers University and a member of the Union of Concerned Scientists.



ROTHCO

Editor: James Weinstein
Managing Editor: Sheryl Larson
Senior Editors: Patricia Aufderheide, John B. Judis, David Moberg
Assistant Managing Editor: Miles Harvey
Culture Editor: Jeff Reid
Associate Editor: Salim Muwakkil
European Editor: Diana Johnstone
In Short Editor: Joel Bleifuss
Editorial Promotions: Maggie Garb
Copy editor: Frieda Gordon Landau
Staff Writer: Jim Naureckas
Researchers: Joan McGrath, Lynn Travers
Intern: Tricia Van Eck
California correspondent: Kathryn Phillips

Art Director: Miles DeCoster
Associate Art Director: Peter Hannan
Assistant Art Director: Lisa Weinstein
Photo Editor: Paul Comstock
Typesetter: Jim Rinnert
Intern: Glenora Croucher

Publisher: James Weinstein
Assistant Publisher: Carol E.A. Gams
Co-Business Managers:
 Louis Hirsch, *Finance*
 Donna Thomas, *Data Processing/Accounting*
 Hania Richmond, *Office/Personnel*
Acting Advertising Director: Bruce Embrey
 Cynthia Diaz (on leave)
Assistant Advertising Director: Hania Richmond
Advertising Assistant: Kerry A. Miller
Receptionist: Theresa Nutall

Circulation Director: Leenie Folsom
Assistant Director: George Gorham

Concert Typographers: Sheryl Hybert

In These Times believes that to guarantee our life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, Americans must take greater control over our nation's basic economic and foreign policy decisions. We believe in a socialism that fulfills rather than subverts the promise of American democracy, where social needs and rationality, not corporate profit and greed, are the operative principles. Our pages are open to a wide range of views, socialist and non-socialist, liberal and conservative. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700
 Member: Alternative Press Syndicate

The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright © 1987 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Copies of *In These Times* contract with the National Writers Union are available upon request. Complete issues of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. Selected articles are available on 4-track cassette from Freedom Ideas International, 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657. Subscriptions are \$34.95 a year (\$59 for institutions; \$47.95 outside the U.S. and its possessions). Advertising rates sent on request. Back issues \$3; specify volume and number. All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs. Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 12, No. 5) published Dec. 9, 1987, for newsstand sales Dec. 9-15, 1987.



The Washington legacy: participatory democracy

Harold Washington changed the face of Chicago. His death two weeks ago left the city in a state of uncertainty—both about what he had accomplished and about what would happen next. But the events that followed immediately left little doubt that Chicago would never be the same as it had been before he became mayor.

Washington had a long struggle to win control of Chicago's government. In his first three years, a hostile majority in the city council frustrated him at almost every turn. It took two court-ordered special aldermanic elections to give Washington a council majority in 1986. His re-election in 1987 confirmed his control, but he had barely a year in which to implement his program for the city. In that time, especially considering the terrible budget constraints imposed by drastic cuts in federal aid to cities during the Reagan years, Washington accomplished a lot (see pages 6-7). Yet his legacy is much less in the reforms he managed to put into effect than in the changes he helped make in the political life of what was once one of the most corrupt and boss-ridden of American cities.

Washington's genius lay in his ability to be both a principled and practical politician. He knew what it was possible for him to do and what compromises had to be made with the powers that be. He came into office as an outstanding individual—a skilled and progressive legislator who was drafted by his community to run for mayor—but not as the leader of a left movement. The coalition he led was diverse in its politics, though overwhelmingly black in its ethnicity. Political reality made it necessary to accommodate Chicago's corporate establishment, with which he worked out a *modus vivendi*. It also forced him to accept the corrupt black aldermen already in office, who he kept in line with threats of running his own candidates in their wards. In short, he lived in the real world of politics and played the game masterfully.

But he also had a dream. He believed deeply in democracy, which

to him meant open government and popular participation. And he had a strong commitment to working people, regardless of nationality or ethnicity. In the immediate aftermath of his death popular participation was his most obvious legacy.

Without Washington, the black coalition fell apart even before he was officially pronounced dead, as the most avaricious of the old-line black aldermen joined with the most rapacious of the whites on the city council to give the mayoralty—for the time being—to Ald. Eugene Sawyer. But a funny thing happened on the way to the sell-out. Chicago's black community paid the greatest possible tribute to Harold Washington—in an unprecedented series of demonstrations, it showed that it had become a self-consciously political force.

In a 12-hour-long demonstration at city hall on the night the council chose Sawyer, thousands of people—media estimates varied from 4,000 to upwards of 10,000—showed self-confidence, good humor and a determination to protect what had been won under Washington. And even though this crowd was 75-80 percent black, it showed few signs of racial hostility—even to the white aldermen who were conspiring to defeat its will. In the end, of course, the protesters lost the immediate battle—just barely. But they made it clear that the old days of what Ald. Dorothy Tillman called "plantation politics" were over, and that what had begun as an almost purely racial campaign had now become a battle along political lines that have begun to transcend race.

Five years ago, when Washington was first elected mayor, he had the support of a small number of whites and about half of Chicago's Hispanic voters, but his coalition on the council was essentially black. In the aftermath of his death there is a new council division, which can be seen as reform vs. corruption or as left vs. right. The left is still predominantly black, but for the first time it now has solid Hispanic support—and it appears to have a surprising degree of white participation.

Chicago always was an unusual political city. If it weren't, a man like Harold Washington could not have been elected mayor. And now it appears to be a city in transition, one with a unique degree of citizen activity and an opportunity for a genuinely left popular politics. This is what Washington lived for.

LETTERS

Deadly parallel

I AM WRITING IN RESPONSE TO RECENT ATTACKS on Alexander Amerisov and other democratic left Soviet dissidents in your paper by the stodgy and undemocratic wing of the American left. Using worn out, Old Left clichés like "anti-Soviet" and "counterrevolutionary," these people engage in exactly what they accuse the rest of us on the left of doing—dividing the left. As a democratic leftist who enjoys these Soviet dissident articles very much, I find such attacks, accusing the dissidents and their publishers of being Reaganites and radical rightists, to be both insulting and unfair.

In fact, as I have watched the Iran-contra-gate tragedy unfold at the same time reading these barbed letters in leftist publications, it isn't hard to see striking parallels between Reaganites and old-line leftists. Both groups have a pathological paranoia in regard to anyone who disagrees with them, coupled with an ideological and messianic sense of certainty. Both flagrantly ignore realities in the Third World, whether it be South African or contra terrorism or whether it be butchery in Ethiopia and Afghanistan. When they lose the confidence of their audiences, they become threatening and take on a passion for secrecy. And, ironically, while they hate each other, they seem to hate the democratic left even more.

One of the most disgusting things these Old Leftists do is threaten to cancel their subscriptions, presumably with the hope that *ITT* or other democratic left papers will hew to their line. While I don't deny the right to cancel subscriptions, I think *ITT* has a right to air our hopes and dreams, without coercion and intimidation.

Brandon D. Hunt
St. Louis

Marijuana

YOUR EDITORIAL ON JUDGE DOUGLAS GINSBURG (*ITT*, Nov. 18) could have gone much further to clear up the marijuana smoke-screen. The evidence is unequivocal, hemp isn't remotely as damaging and dangerous as alcohol. There is no scientific evidence to justify prohibition.

Cannabis hemp was the world's premier agricultural crop until its prohibition. This seed-bearing herb has the highest quality fiber, pulp, protein, oil, medicine and erosion control value of any plant on the planet; the cellulose alone would make it our most valuable crop. Hemp's total agricultural worth is near \$1 trillion a year, not counting energy and forest conservation.

Henry Ford lobbied hard for a decentralized alcohol motor fuel system using hemp as the feed-stock, but hemp was being challenged by new synthetic petro-chemical products and their interests prevailed, ultimately driving some 100,000 small farmers out of business after the secretly prepared prohibition passed without debate within a week. Labor-saving mechanical separation had just been devised making it much more competitive.

• Cellulose—(feed-stock for methanol, plastics, etc.): Hemp's 75 percent cellulose bests its three nearest common plant rivals by four, 10 and 40 times the pulp and fiber produced. Hemp fiber, the strongest natural

fiber, made open ocean sailing practical; the fibers can be finished as fine as silk or as rough as burlap. Hemp produces four times the paper (and low acid) as the same area of softwood. Historically, most paper and cloth have been made from hemp.

• Protein—(stock feed): Second only to soy in content, hemp seeds are more digestible and have been used in porridges, soups and gruels by virtually all peoples of the world regularly until this century.

• Oil: Near highest in seed oil content (no THC), it was second to whale oil in recent centuries; it's been lamp oil for millennia. Hemp oil is finer than linseed and was used in all the best paints before prohibition.

• Medicine: The hemp staff is incorporated into the physician's symbol because it was the favored medicinal herb of the first recorded doctor. Hemp was first, second and third most used medicinal remedy and has always been held holy by Hinduism, Buddhism, Shintoism, Zoroastrianism, Esenes, Muslim-sufi and Genesis Psalms and Ezekiel cover "green herb," "herb bearing seed," "fruit...leaf" and "herb" in the service of people and the healing of nations.

• Erosion control: Hemp's deep root system is about the fastest growing and it was widely used to reduce soil loss during the dust bowl.

Marijuana is just the excuse for hemp prohibition.

Cullen Stuart
Lincoln, Maine

Riposte

RECENTLY IN THESE TIMES APOLOGIZED (Letters, Nov. 11) to a letter writer from the *New Haven Advocate* for a remark in a book review I wrote (*ITT*, Oct. 7).

Chain ownership has corrupted the *New Haven Advocate*. Run in Massachusetts, the chain has, like most chains, decided to soak the local advertising market without putting much editorial expense back in. Michael Bingham, the latest in a long string of *New Haven Advocate* managing editors, claims he runs an autonomous paper. Yet his New Haven bureau produces only three or four pages of copy out of 44 or 48 in a typical *Advocate* issue. The rest is canned material sometimes criticizing the Reagan administration, never criticizing the Reaganite mayor in New Haven.

The paper's downfall in New Haven reflects a larger problem with many (by no means all) of the alternative urban weeklies that sprang up in the '70s. The baby-boomers, always their target market (in New Haven, white baby-boomers), have "grown up." So the *Advocate* decided to "grow up,"

too. No more controversial stories on local powerful figures. No stories on the black or Hispanic communities, labor or gentrification, unless other papers make a story impossible to ignore. Instead, the *Advocate* added TV listings, bank rates and sycophantic pieces on local powers (such as: what cars do New Haven's rich and powerful drive?). Editors have killed unflattering stories to protect advertisers, such as a furniture store owner whose city-assisted jazz festival was charged several years back with excluding black acts.

Bingham came to town last year as the fourth managing editor in little more than three years. He's been here the longest of any writer or editor on the New Haven paper. The reporting shows it. I'm not the only local writer who has left or been frozen out by the *Advocate*. The Massachusetts ownership has chided us for forming a writers' association, writing "pro-labor" articles, leaking information about their abuses to the local daily and, finally, launching a competing weekly. New Haven people grew so disgusted at the *Advocate's* abandonment of the city that they provided my associates and me with more than a half-million dollars to launch the *Independent*, whose circulation has doubled to 24,000 in a year.

Paul Bass
Editor, *New Haven Independent*

Sounds

I WAS INTERESTED TO READ (*ITT*, OCT. 14) ABOUT Rep. Robert Dornan's ride in the B-1. Especially intriguing was the way the plane's noise was called "the sound of freedom." I recently encountered this exact turn of phrase in South Africa. Heartening, isn't it, that in helping our allies who fight so hard against the common enemy, we can share not only money, weapons, intelligence and strategy but even propaganda!

Rich Kirby
Dungannon, Va.

Tax the users

WITH ALL THE TROUBLE CONGRESS IS HAVING to reduce the deficit by \$23 billion to shore up the stock market and stabilize the domestic and international economy, President Reagan has provided an answer.

He rules out new taxes but accepts user taxes. The idea is that those who use government services should pay taxes for them.

Researchers say that 70 percent of the Pentagon, CIA, State Department, NASA and Agency for International Development budgets—more than \$370 billion a year—are

spent overseas to protect the operations of the multinational corporations.

Thus the multinationals should pay \$250 billion as user taxes instead of the \$35 billion they now pay. This would eliminate the \$20 billion a year deficit plus more to reduce some of the national debt. It would stabilize the stock market and our domestic economy as well as the international one.

Jerry D. Lang
Director, Unorganized Employees Association
Miami, Fla.

Correction

The November 4 issue of *In These Times* contained an error in the story "Tibet: China's Lost Horizon." Referring to Lhasa's Jokhang Temple, the story said, "Many gather at the front entrance and protest for hours on end." It should have read, "Many... and prostrate themselves for hours on end."

Correction

Due to an error, Robert Schaeffer's review of *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea* (*ITT*, Nov. 25) was garbled. The mangled section should have read:

Rediker argues that Jack Tar's "class war" at sea foreshadowed subsequent struggles in factory, forest and mine: "When the sea captain, in the later guise of factory master, sought to make 'authority and obedience' the rule of the land, he confronted Jack Tar's heirs, the weavers, Wobblies and industrial workers who continued the fight for freedom and democracy."

Rediker's approach enables him to draw a robust portrait of life and work and sea and analyze what diverse maritime laborers shared in common. But this kind of historiography is sometimes constrained.

The collective identity of "Jack Tar" unifies the experience of workers in this occupation. But how useful is a collective personality for workers in other occupations? In recent times, "Rosie the Riveter" has become the collective identity for women working in industrial occupations during World War II. It is a useful construct. But note that Rosie and Jack are both single-gender identities.

We can speak easily of "Jack" Tar because seafaring then was a male-only occupation (just as the expression, "man the boats," had an objective reality); Rosie, likewise refers only to female workers (in previously male jobs). But it would be more difficult to construct this collective personality for mixed gender occupations: Jack and Jill Tar, Rosie and Fred Riveter is less compelling.

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander

By Glenn C. Baker

Media promotes myth of Soviet conventional power

THE AGREEMENT ON A NUCLEAR ARMS treaty to remove medium-range missiles from Europe has sparked a new media concern: the ramifications of a de-nuclearized NATO defense. Given the overwhelming Warsaw Pact lead in conventional forces, pundits and reporters ask, won't the removal of American missiles from Europe practically invite a Soviet invasion? The point is debated *ad nauseam*. But the premise—Warsaw Pact conventional superiority—is rarely questioned.

Many staunch conservatives, erstwhile automatic supporters of Reagan's policies, are expressing reservations over the deal, and it has yet to pass muster in the Senate, which hasn't ratified an arms treaty in 15 years. The media have so faithfully toed the administration's line on the conventional balance that it may be the greatest threat to an agreement.

The Reagan White House has been remarkably effective in controlling information to fit ideology. It has restricted access to unclassified data, denied entry to "politically incorrect" foreign writers and fabricated weapons capabilities information. And it has found the media exceptionally cooperative on the conventional arms balance in Europe. Journalists and broadcasters consistently preface stories on Euromissiles with matter-of-fact reference to the vast conventional tilt in favor of the Warsaw Pact.

A recent *Newsweek* article on the negotiations contain no less than eight references to the superiority of Warsaw Pact conventional forces. "Because the NATO allies have scrimped on conventional defense while the Soviet Union and its allies have made enormous advances in that area," a representative passage holds forth, "it is unlikely that NATO could hold up a conventional attack across the inter-German border for more than a fortnight, perhaps only for a few days."

Disappearing gap: Yet even using figures from the Defense Intelligence Agency's annual *Soviet Military Power (SMP)*, a publication that takes great pains to present a "worst case" scenario, a picture emerges of relative numerical parity on non-nuclear forces.

The 1987 edition includes charts in blue and red comparing six broad categories of conventional strength. It also includes fine print at the bottom of the page that mentions that the military forces of France and Spain have not been counted, an omission on which the red-heavy charts depend. Its rationale for their exclusion is that, despite their membership in NATO, neither nation "participates in its integrated military structure." But it is universally accepted that both countries would participate in any wartime NATO effort. France maintains some 48,000 troops within West German borders, while Spain has taken an active role in practically every aspect of NATO preparedness and plays host to some of the largest U.S. military bases in the world. Few would argue that they are less reliable allies of NATO than Poland or Romania are of the Warsaw Pact. (The Pentagon is well aware of the reliability issue. The Soviets "can never be certain that the forces or peoples of Eastern Europe will rally around a call from Moscow," stated Adm. William Crowe,

chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, in testimony earlier this year. "I suspect that this one uncertainty weighs most heavily on the minds of Russian leaders.")

Incorporate the data for France and Spain (found buried in the text on the previous page) into *SMP's* six broad categories of conventional strength, and the numbers don't look quite so lopsided. For division equivalents, it shows the Warsaw Pact ahead, 133 to 110. That's a ratio of 1.21 to 1. They also lead in artillery weapons 1.34 to 1, in anti-tank guided weapons launchers 1.25 to 1, and in main battle tanks 1.48 to 1. But NATO holds the edge in armored personnel carriers and fighting vehicles. In

The administration's selling job has shaped coverage of the conventional arms issue in Europe. Repetition of the message has given it the ring of truth.

sum, the average of these ratios shows the Warsaw Pact with only a 1.18 to 1 numerical advantage overall, or 18 percent.

These numbers hardly jibe with the 2-to-1 or 3-to-1 ratios commonly bandied about by members of the news media. "It disappoints me to hear people talking about the overwhelming Soviet conventional military strength," testified Gen. Frederick Kroesen, commander of U.S. Army forces in Europe, in 1983, early on in the Reagan buildup. "We can defend the borders of Western Europe with what we have. I've never asked for a larger force."

The above figures represent "In Place in Europe and Rapidly Deployable Forces," a meaningful measure for comparison of ground forces. But *SMP* manages to widen the gap by also comparing "Fully Reinforced Forces." This ups the Pact advantage to 1.42 to 1 overall. But the Pact's reinforcements are made up almost entirely of reserve units in low states of readiness, conducting no annual exercises and equipped with weapons from the '50s and early '60s. NATO reinforcements (which make up only a small part of its total force even in the "Fully Reinforced" scenario) are better trained, in a higher state of readiness and armed with high quality weaponry.

NATO's qualitative edge in arms applies across the entire spectrum of forces, not just reinforcements. Over the years, NATO policy has been to counter Soviet numbers by spending more on each weapon. The U.S.' top-of-the-line tank, the M-1, costs about \$2.8 million each; so does the latest German Leopard tank, as does the new British Challenger. The best Soviet tank, the T-80 (a variation on the T-72, which is a variation on the T-64), checks in at about \$1.3 million per unit. NATO tanks are faster, more lethal and more sophisticated than

their Warsaw Pact counterparts.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff acknowledge this condition in their annual Military Posture statement: "One U.S. approach to counteracting superior enemy forces is to field qualitatively superior forces of its own," the FY 1988 version states, "[C]oncentrating resources to produce technology-intensive combat and combat-support forces capable of achieving decisive results." They include a chart of the "Relative U.S.-Soviet Standing in the Twenty Most Important Basic Technology Areas." The U.S. is ahead in 14 and equal in six. The Soviets are superior in none. "The notion of a conventional imbalance is one of the most widely held misconceptions in the defense debate," says Steven Kosiak, an analyst with the Center for Defense Information.

Pentagon defense: While many advocates of military reform contend that the U.S. is oversophisticating its arsenal, the Pentagon defends its policy on techno-economic grounds. "U.S. advanced technology...imposes strategic costs on the Soviets by causing them to divert resources from more easily produced systems in order to counter new, more capable U.S. systems," assert the Joint Chiefs in the same posture statement. Much the same "logic" that has been used to advocate all-out competition on strategic nuclear arms production, to "spend the Soviet economy into the ground," is being employed on the conventional front.

This approach is producing some results. The Soviets appear to be shifting their conventional game plan away from an offensive posture. Air Force Secretary Edward Aldridge recently disclosed that a joint study by the Defense and Central Intelligence Agencies indicates that Warsaw Pact air forces have changed their war strategy from primarily offensive to one that "emphasizes an initial defensive orientation." This dramatic shift is in reaction to the ongoing modernization of the NATO conventional arsenal, particularly the development of "emerging technology" and "deep strike" weaponry, the study said. In short, the evidence suggests that NATO is not only holding its own on the conventional front but actually influencing the direction of Warsaw Pact planning.

So why do many correspondents continue to portray the situation in terms of a woeful imbalance, with the communist hordes poised to surge across Western Europe at a moment's notice? Some answers can be found by looking at the nature of the media. With some notable exceptions, the media have served as a conduit for government information, recounting official defense policy with little criticism or contention. "When the subject is the conventional balance, on one side you have the president of the United States, the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, and the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe; on the other side you can get a quote from an analyst at the Brookings Institution," explains Lee Feinstein, of *Deadline*, a journalism review focusing on national security issues. "The sheer weight of

authority means a reporter is going to reflect the view of the administration."

The complexity of the issue suggests another reason it receives short shrift in the news. While nuclear arsenals can be somewhat effectively compared using numbers, the conventional balance involves a far more intricate host of variables. If such an involved issue can be summed up with the phrase "overwhelming Soviet advantage," it fits neatly into a 500-word, or 30-second, story. Notes Feinstein, "Until recently, reporters felt they could write about the conventional balance without questioning the notion of Soviet superiority. Now some are coming around to recognize that it's open to debate."

A closely held value in the press is the necessity of appearing balanced. Thus it follows a certain logic that says if you advocate a reduction in nuclear weapons it must be countered by an increase in conventional strength. "There is a superficial polarity at work here," says Feinstein. "Many reporters don't realize that the proposed treaty would leave over 4,000 U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe, not to mention the sizable British and French nuclear arsenals as well as NATO-assigned nuclear weapons on U.S. submarines." On the other side of the coin, opponents of the treaty believe the missiles are required to offset the Soviet conventional advantage. Thus the entire debate takes place within a "heads I win, tails you lose" framework.

Furthermore, the press is reluctant to challenge what is widely accepted as given. In doing so it would be taking on not only the administration but also congressional heavyweights like Sen. Sam Nunn (D-GA), a proponent of beefing up NATO's conventional forces. In the current chilly climate of East-West relations, no reporter wants to get branded as soft on defense. Besides, red scare makes better copy—"the Russians aren't coming" rarely sells newspapers.

But above all, the administration's selling job has shaped the current debate. While the Pentagon's warnings on Soviet conventional strength long predate the Reagan presidency, never before has the executive branch's manipulation of language reached its current level.

From the outset this administration has succeeded with the philosophy of linguistic overkill—repeat the message over and over again and eventually it will take on the ring of truth. This has worked with individual words, like "Peacekeeper" and "Freedom Fighter." It has also worked on the level of word-concept association: "The Sandinistas pose a threat to the region" and "the Soviets have violated virtually every arms control agreement they've ever signed" are two of the more popular ones. The White House is now trying to downplay the latter.

Now that an agreement on medium-range missiles is at hand, the question of the balance of conventional strength in Europe has taken on unprecedented importance. Come ratification time, the president will be looking to lay aside doubts about NATO's conventional frailty. But the administration has cried wolf so often and so persuasively on this issue that it must now face the consequences of its salesmanship.

Glenn C. Baker is Freedom of Information Act coordinator for the National Security Archive in Washington.

Washington's death

On November 21 I sat in an enormous restaurant in Chicago called Sauer's and, along with several hundred other people, joined in honoring the 50th anniversary of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and, particularly, Oliver Law. Up on the stage stood about a dozen Brigade vets and widows of vets, looking spry, and the following proclamation was read out:

"Whereas, this year marks the 50th anniversary of the entrance of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade as volunteers in defense of democracy in the Spanish Civil War; and

"Whereas, over 200 Chicagoans joined this international movement to stop the spread of fascism; and

"Whereas, Oliver Law, a leader of movements for relief of the poor and for political rights for blacks and working people in Chicago in the early '30s, was a commander in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, thus becoming the first black American to lead an integrated military force in the history of the United States; and

"Whereas, the long-neglected historical significance of Oliver Law is being recognized in a program on Nov. 21, 1987, sponsored by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and the 50th Anniversary Committee, which will honor the continuing legacy of international solidarity represented by Oliver Law and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade;

"Now, therefore, I, Harold Washington, mayor of the city of Chicago, do hereby proclaim Nov. 21, 1987, to be Oliver Law and Abraham Lincoln Day in Chicago and urge all citizens to be cognizant of the special events arranged for this time and the importance of this history.

"Dated this 18th day of November, 1987.

Harold Washington
Mayor"

I sat there thinking how fine it was that Chicago had a mayor ready to honor Law and the Brigade in this fashion. It must have been almost the last proclamation Washington signed. He was dead of a heart attack within the week, at 65, which is the average life expectancy rate for black males in the U.S. The expectancy rate for black males has been falling throughout Reagan's term, though had the press headline said "Washington dies on schedule required by U.S. capitalism" it would have no doubt been considered the height of bad taste.

Series and the Nexus: the Case of the 'Bush Vet'

About 60 miles north of Spokane in eastern Washington is the town of Colville. The country round about is rugged, cut through with glacial valleys sheltering fertile farms. Over to the east across the mountains is neo-Nazi terrain, around Metalline Falls and Coeur d'Alene. The economy of the region is depressed; mines closed up, lumber run down. The Colville region is Vietnam vet country; rural, remote and, best of all, cheap.

About four years ago, some Vietnam vets going to the mental health center in Colville for individual counseling organized a rap group, meeting once a week to have collective sessions in which each could unburden himself, sharing experiences with others well qualified to understand what was being

talked about. After 18 months they went public, debuting with a booth at the Colville County Fair.

This initiative did not pass unnoticed by the local Veterans of Foreign Wars service office, which exerted itself to organize a counter group of vets less overtly connected with the politically fraught notion of peace. A supervisory bureaucrat from Health and Social Services called Lloyd Humpreys urged the vets to merge with the new group for their weekly sessions and finally a joint gathering was convened. The rap groups were not delighted by the consequences. They had a rule for such meetings: no weapons, no booze. One of the vets in the counter group was half stewed and others carried knives.

The rap group said it would boycott the mental health center and did so for the following 18 months. The bureaucracy—feds twined octopus-like with the Washington Department of Social and Health Services—then announced that they were withdrawing recognition from the rappers as a group, though each of its members could return for counseling on an individual basis.

The rap group jacked up its collective social and political presence in the community, calling itself Vets for Peace, organizing community vigils, leafletting lines for *Platoon*, and so forth.

Earlier this year Dan Rather came to Colville. With him he brought CBS producer Paul Fine and a production unit and began to make a documentary about Colville area vets. It should be airing about now. Vets for Peace made sure the CBS people knew about its existence and waited eagerly for the opportunity to try to counter the mad-dog image of a bunch of Rambo crazies in the hills: the so-called "bush vet," beloved by journalists chirping about PTSD—post traumatic stress disorder—and avoiding politics in any form.

The chance never came. Rather and his crew spent their time talking to the state-sanctioned vet group, and flew off into the sunrise. Still smarting from this experience, Vets for Peace were then approached by the *Spokane Spokesman Review*. The reporter talked with them by the hour. The photographer arrived and they stood proudly under their Vets for Peace banner as he clicked away. One more shot, he asked, just them and no banner against a mountain backdrop. Innocently, they complied. In the published story they got two paragraphs, buried in blather about the counter group. And the photograph of men without a banner, socially atomized against a bush vet backdrop.

This kind of treatment of Vets for Peace by CBS and the *Spokesman Review* was well summed up by Theodor Adorno in *Minima Moralia* in his words in "Monad":

"[The decay of the individual] must not be deduced individualistically, but from the social tendency that asserts itself by means of individuation and not merely as its enemy.... Reactionary criticism often attains insight into the decay of individuality and the crisis of society, but places the ontological responsibility of this on the individual as such, as something discrete and internal: for this reason the accusation of shallowness, lack of faith and substance, is the last word it has to say.... [T]he trend of their condemnation is rather to sacrifice the in-

ASHES & DIAMONDS

By Alexander Cockburn

dividual himself than to criticize the social *principium individuationis*. As half-truths, their polemics are already the whole untruth.... [T]he setting free of the individual by the undermining of the *polis* did not strengthen his resistance, but eliminated him and individuality itself.... Freedom from society robs him of the strength for freedom."

Take that, Allan Bloom.

Well Done, Bill!

The thought of CBS brings me to Bill Moyers, pissed on here once or twice for disservices to humanity. Now comes the time to give the man a clap on the back and words of hearty congratulations for his contragate/Constitution film, aired on Channel 13 [in New York City] on November 4. This was a fine 90-minute documentary that did most things right, and should be screened in every school in the country once a month. The piece was produced by Al Levin, a longtime TV documentarian. His 1970 NET Journal piece *Who Invited Us?* is a classic piece of progressive television, in which, among other things, his team landed in Chile right before the election of President Salvadore Allende and speculated what the U.S. response would be. In the early '70s Levin collaborated with Moyers on a number of *Bill Moyers' Journals*. *Why Work?* was about "economic democracy," examined several worker-run enterprises in Italy and is distributed by the left film distribution company California Newsreel.

So this makes up somewhat for Moyers' antics at CBS, including the thumbs-up news analysis of the Grenada invasion and a manic Cold War display at the Geneva summit.

On the topic of Grenada, discussed here on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the invasion, I would direct anyone rashly congratulating himself on the absence of a state-controlled press in the U.S. to Joseph Treaster's article in the *New York Times* for October 25. As we know, the economy of Grenada is in tatters, as are health and education services. Herbert Blaize's ruling party has this year introduced detention without trial and censorship of calypso. Through Treaster's rose-pink shades "you can almost hear the money jingling in Grenadian pockets" and "in some ways Grenada is experiencing democracy with a vengeance." If the imagination of the state had the power of words they would be there.

Tigerish Questions

But the state doesn't have things all its own way. Every now and again officials of the Reagan administration, mewling and puking with terror, have to submit themselves to the pitiless interrogations of McNeil and Lehrer, as in, for example, this bare-knuckle encounter between Elliott Abrams, assistant secretary of state, and Jim Lehrer:

Lehrer: "What is your reading of how the Arias peace plan is going so far?"

Abrams: "Well, I think you'd have to give an 'A' to President Cerezo and President Duarte and I think you'd have to give something pretty close to failing to President Ortega."

Now any rational human would have

taken the mike and whacked Abrams on the head with it, asking him not to pollute the airwaves with such filthy nonsense. If prudence withheld the mike-whack, any interrogator capable of reading a newspaper would have asked Abrams about on-going death squad killing in Guatemala and El Salvador, press freedom in both countries, the murder of human rights leader Herbert Anaya, the true and actual pace of political "reconciliation" in both countries, as contrasted with Nicaragua's concrete demonstrations of good faith. Lehrer said nothing substantive in a demonstration of truly spectacular timidity, climaxing with:

Lehrer: "Do you feel, as we sit here now, that the United States is giving its full support to the Arias plan?"

Abrams: "Yes."

Lehrer: "Mr. Secretary, thank you very much for being here with us tonight."

Then, since this is a free country, we had "balance" to Abrams, in the form of that noted columnist, Sen. John McCain of Arizona, and that other representative of the far, far left, Sen. Chris Dodd, who made some reasonable points but felt, as all liberals do, that it was necessary to say, "I think you've got to look at the Sandinista government in some sort of pragmatic terms. We've seen no conversion on the road to Damascus. They are not people who've turned into Jeffersonian Democrats. They're Marxists. They're Leninists, and we shouldn't think otherwise about them...."

So how come they never talk about the Marxist-Leninist leaders of the People's Republic of China? This gets us back to the imagination of the state. Stop me before I kill again. ■

SUBSCRIBER SERVICE S

If applicable affix your mailing label here.

I AM:

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

☐ MOVING.

NEW ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

If possible affix your mailing label to facilitate the change. If no label is available be sure to include both the new and OLD zip codes with the complete addresses. Please allow 4-6 weeks for the address change.

☐ SUBSCRIBING. Fill out your name and address above and we will have IN THESE TIMES with news and analysis you can't find anywhere else in your mailbox within 4-6 weeks. Check price and term below. ASTN7

☐ RENEWING. Do it now and keep IN THESE TIMES coming without interruption. Affix your mailing label above and we will renew your account to automatically extend when your current subscription expires. Check price and term below. ARST7

☐ SHOPPING. Give an IN THESE TIMES gift subscription. It makes a perfect gift for friends, relatives, students or associates. Fill out your name and address above and name and address of recipient below. A handsome gift card will be sent. XSTH7

NAME OF RECIPIENT

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

PRICE / TERM

- ☐ One year: \$34.95
- ☐ Six months: \$18.95
- ☐ Student/retired, One year: \$24.95
- ☐ Institutional, One year: \$59.00
- ☐ Payment enclosed
- ☐ Bill me later
- ☐ Charge my VISA/MC

ACCT. NO.

EXP. DATE

Above prices for U.S. residents only. Foreign orders add \$13 per year.

In These Times Customer Service
1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054
1-800-435-0715; in Illinois 1-800-892-0753

IN THESE TIMES DEC. 9-15, 1987 17

LIFE IN THE U.S.

By Michael Schudson

THE DANGER OF CIGARETTE smoking has not raised much interest on the left. The images of the Gaulois-smoking Parisian Marxist intellectual or the chain-smoking labor organizer retain a certain romance. Besides, people who insist on "structural" understandings of human affairs are disinclined to believe that something as open to individual choice and subject to liberal, reformist politics as cigarette smoking should be as basic a cause of cancer and other fatal illnesses as environmental pollution and occupation-related diseases spawned by profit-seeking, people-ignoring private corporations.

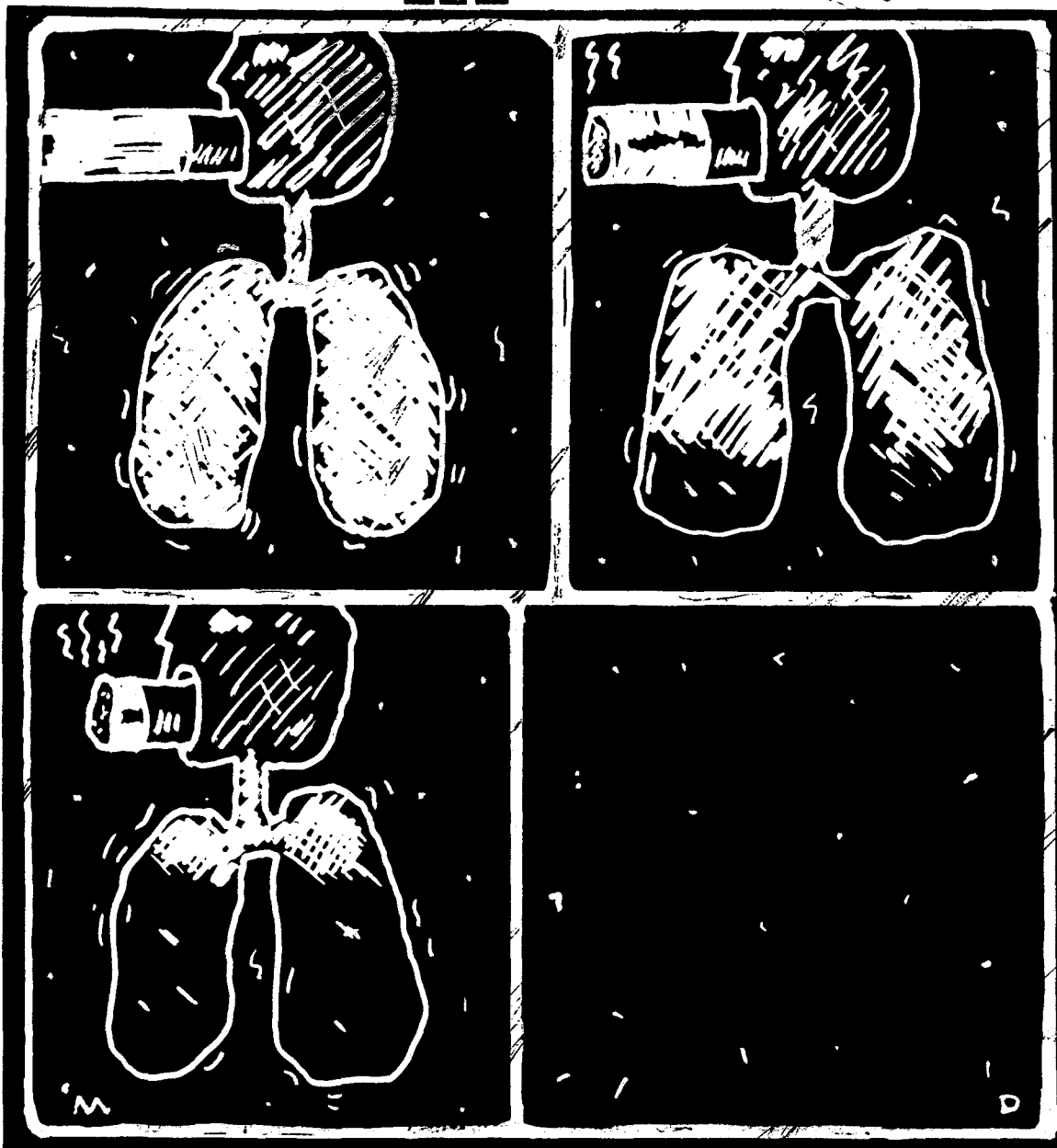
Frankly, this has been my own sense of things. Why so much fuss about smoking and so little about air and water pollution, automobile fumes, the whole mad industrial brewing of a poison soup to live in? Because—so my thinking goes—with cigarettes, you can place responsibility on the individual's choice to smoke or not to smoke; with industrial toxins, you must seek governmental solutions for problems individuals have little or no control over. The American way is to try to ignore the second kind of problem for as long as possible.

Public enemy #1: I now believe this position is wrong for cigarettes, even though its general logic is sound enough. There are two reasons for this, both clarified by Kenneth Warner's valuable book on cigarette advertising *Selling Smoke: Cigarette Advertising and Public Health*, published by the American Public Health Association. First, cigarette smoking is, according to the best evidence available, the primary cause of this century's major cancer epidemic. Compared to cigarette smoking, the contribution of other new toxins and pollutants to mortality is so far trivial.

This does not mean that two or three decades down the road we won't find that automobile exhaust has cumulatively proved devastating. But thus far, no such results have turned up. The available solid evidence points to the cigarette as, in the surgeon general's words, "the leading cause of premature death and avoidable illness." (The astute critic will properly wonder what social and economic structures get smuggled into the category of "unavoidable" illness, a serious issue particularly for occupational safety and health.)

The cigarette is a particularly guilty party in lung cancer, which (1987 figures) accounts for 36 percent of cancer deaths among U.S. males, 20 percent among females. But not only lung cancer: smoking is a major cause of cancer of the oral cavity and esophagus and a contributing cause to a variety of other cancers. The Congressional Office of

18 IN THESE TIMES DEC. 9-15, 1987



The smoking gun: a nation at risk

Technology Assessment estimates that 13 percent of all heart disease deaths are due to smoking (the surgeon general's estimate is higher). Smoking is also responsible for 80

HEALTH

to 90 percent of the annual toll of 74,000 deaths due to chronic obstructive lung disease. So the surgeon general's warning on that cigarette package is not a mild moral injunction but as insistent an admonition as we are ever likely to get from biomedical research.

Second, the cigarette problem in fact has significant "structural" elements of its own. The power of the

Compared to cigarette smoking, the contribution of other pollutants to mortality is trivial.

tobacco industry has been enormous, not only in getting the Congress to subsidize tobacco production and to weaken anti-cigarette health legislation, but has also made the media watchdogs into pesky flies. The smart money in current media analysis emphasizes

the subtle "hegemonic" ideology within media structures, not the bald censorship of news by cunning advertisers.

Crude censorship: But in the case of cigarette smoking, more primitive censorship has played an important role that Warner documents. He cites studies of women's magazines that show a near silence on the dangers of cigarettes for the period 1967 to 1979 (when smoking among women, especially teenagers, continued to increase while male smoking was already in decline).

Cosmopolitan has openly acknowledged that it shies away from or softens comments on cigarettes to avoid offending its tobacco advertisers. *Newsweek* (in 1983) and *Time* (in 1984), both published special supplements on health, both in cooperation with a major medical organization (the American Medical Association and the American Academy of Family Physicians, respectively), in which they edited out most of the physician-prepared material on smoking. In a 1985 health supplement, *Newsweek* virtually ignored cigarettes. In fact, *Newsweek* mistakenly wrote that breast cancer was the leading cause of cancer death among women; even though lung and breast cancer were statistically even. Lung cancer got one

paragraph to breast cancer's 11.

Is this ignorance? That would be hard to believe. Fear of losing advertisers? The smoking gun has been located for a number of women's magazines, not for *Time* and *Newsweek*, but it is hard to conceive alternative explanations. And the problem may be getting worse, now that the tobacco companies also own other major advertisers (R.J. Reynolds owns Nabisco; Philip Morris owns General Foods).

Where there's smoke: Warner's book is a brief for banning cigarette advertising. It is the most thoughtful and balanced advocacy one can imagine. It recognizes that the data on the relationship between cigarette sales and advertising are complicated; it recognizes that people who take up smoking are influenced by many factors besides advertising; it recognizes that the First Amendment deserves consideration in any effort to restrict the "commercial speech" of the tobacco industry. But Warner reminds us that tobacco advertising itself has exercised a chilling effect on free speech. And he reminds us of the surgeon general's estimate that cigarettes are responsible for 350,000 deaths a year.

Banning cigarette promotion is not the only tack to take, but Warner makes a strong case that the matter is serious enough, and

unique enough, to give it a try. It is worth adding, however, that anti-smoking forces have been both innovative and successful in a multi-pronged attack on tobacco; from product liability suits against the companies (none of which has yet been successful) to efforts at federal legislation directed against cigarette advertising (partially successful, especially in the years of counter-advertising mandated under the Fairness Doctrine in 1967-69), to local legislative efforts on side-stream smoking and various rulings to separate smokers from non-smokers in public places or to end smoking in public places.

According to the *New York Times*, 40 states and municipalities now restrict smoking in some fashion. Smoking in New York City taxis was banned in September. The next month Ralston Purina prohibited smoking at its St. Louis, Mo., headquarters. Federal Express will ban smoking in its offices and aircraft as of Jan. 1, 1988. *Business Week* reports that about 30 percent of the nation's corporations limit employees' smoking on the job in some fashion.

More and more hotels and restaurants, whether obliged to by law or not, set aside space for non-smokers. In California, where a ban on smoking on intra-state air travel has recently been approved, there is a bill under consideration to increase state cigarette taxes by 25 cents a pack, a measure strongly supported by Assemblyman Tom Hayden's Campaign California. (It is 20 years since cigarette taxes were raised in California.) Interestingly, one of the arguments that the Tobacco Institute plans to make in lobbying against the bill is that it is regressive, hitting low- and middle-income groups and minorities more than the rich. Tobacco companies have been contributing heavily to black and Latino political organizations.

The campaign against smoking is more successful in the U.S. than elsewhere. Cigarette exports, strongly encouraged by the U.S. government, are a \$15 billion trade item. Cigarette consumption in Asia is growing by 2 percent a year; world cigarette sales have been growing by about 1 percent a year. Dividends at Philip Morris and R.J. Reynolds have increased steadily since the early '80s. Indeed, between exports and diversification, the tobacco companies are doing very well, thank you. The continued effectiveness of the anti-smoking movement, it seems, may require not only a structural understanding of the issues, but also an international perspective. ■

Michael Schudson, Chairman of the Department of Communications at the University of California, San Diego, is author of *Advertising, The Uneasy Persuasion* and many other books.

© 1987 Miles DeCoster

The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage
By Todd Gitlin
Bantam, 513 pp., \$19.95

By Stewart Burns

A FITTING TRIBUTE TO THE 20TH anniversary of the New Left's prime is the arrival of Todd Gitlin's magnificent history and memoir of those "years of hope, days of rage." His book coincides auspiciously with the accelerating decline of Reaganism and the slow-burning emergence of new—and wiser?—progressive movements.

The author, an early president of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and now a Berkeley sociologist, has written a work whose enchanting prose style and analytical acuity rank it with two other great books on the '60s, Norman Mailer's *Armies of the Night* and Garry Wills' *Nixon Agonistes*. Gitlin looks back with a seasoned ironic detachment that does not hide his enduring emotional involvement. He offers his personal memories throughout but also lets the movement tell the story with its own voice and spirit, undiluted by inappropriate emphasis on its "stars."

Various themes thread their way through the journey, casting light on how the New Left grew into such a mighty force and why it collapsed—all intersecting in the notion that the seeds of its "implosion" were planted at the start. One theme is the anguished relationship with the ghosts of the Old Left. With youthful innocence the SDS rebelled against its "parent" organization, the League for Industrial Democracy, a worn-out bastion of social democracy, and rejected the Old Left and its legacy hook, line and sinker. The SDS' commitment to "non-exclusion" of communists rendered it defenseless against a subsequent invasion by the Maoist Progressive Laborites.

Indigenous radicalism: Gitlin hints that SDS might have benefitted from an alliance with more enlightened (and tolerant) social democrats, such as those associated with the journal *Dissent*. As in other respects, SDS activists acted as if American Marxism had no history. The positive side of SDS' principled ignorance of its forebears was its daring effort to fashion an independent and indigenous American radicalism. Gitlin points out the ways that the New Left integrated familiar individualism with strivings for community, but always (and fatefully) with the accent on the former.

More determining was what the author calls "one of the core narratives of the '60s," the "love-hate relations of radicals and liberals." And he notes that "our intuition knew better than our passions that radicalism and liberalism were joined in a symbiosis."



A New Left class reunion: Gitlin looks back after 20

As a New Leftist like Gitlin, who grew up in a liberal Democratic household, I found intriguing his assertion that a majority of early

POLITICS

SDS activists came from such families and were not "red diaper babies" (but that many of the former were influenced personally by the latter). He argues that most initially aspired to be liberals like their parents, only more consistent, but were wounded by the evidence of liberal performance (especially the Kennedy administration) running afoul of its promises. The pervasive sense of liberal betrayal was the forcing house of radicalization.

Yet this deep and unacknowledged ambivalence about liberalism meant that New Leftists could never quite unstrap themselves from their liberal baggage. As late as summer 1968, Gitlin remembers, he, like Tom Hayden and others, "still wanted the system to work, and hated it for failing us." On a practical, strategic level, he suggests that Lyndon Johnson's "twin triumphs" of August 1964—the Tonkin Gulf Resolution and the crushing of the insurgent Mississippi Freedom Democrats at the Atlantic City convention—derailed any further possibility of a liberal-radical coalition for peace and social justice. "The movement's whole constellation of attitudes for the rest of the decade was shaped by its experience of liberal default."

Gitlin's most original contribution to interpreting the '60s is his unravelling of the strands that wove the New Left and the counterculture together. It was a multidimensional youth movement that sometimes expressed itself more along its cultural axis and other times was more overtly polit-

ical but was never really divided. He points to shared origins in the cultural rebellions of the late '50s—particularly the rise of rock'n'roll as it desegregated itself and the teenage culture of "delinquency" inspired by James Dean.

He downplays the influence of the Beats, observing that though their enclaves (and those of left-wing survivors) "opened spaces for the New Left in the early '60s, and for the pure counterculture later on, the shallower channels of the '50s teenage culture marked the territory for the far larger youth upheaval of the late '60s." The "outlaw" stance of Beats and teenagers alike helped set the tone for the New Left, the black movement and feminism, but haunted them, too.

Indeed, the New Left was a counterculture from the start, an oppositional style, above all, born in the Camelot era when style was all the rage. This politico-cultural duality gave the young radicals much of their power and flair while at the same time undermining that power—especially the unresolved tensions between the New Left's "expressive" and "strategic" politics and between the movement "for itself" (personal liberation) and "for others" (Vietnamese, blacks, workers).

Don't need a Weatherman: As the decade wore on, both hip radicals and radical hippies tried to fuse political and cultural revolution, but those who pioneered this convergence—Diggers, Yippies and their ilk—tended to violate the counterculture's own values and spirit. More unsettling, the guiding ethos of the New Left/counterculture that "everything was possible" in the here-and-now slipped easily (with a little help from LSD and other drugs) into a "willing suspension of disbelief" as the "spiritual heart of the new

militancy." Before long it became a full-scale flight from reality that partly explains the sheer madness of the Weather Underground and other pseudo-urban guerrillas. Gitlin seems to be saying that the prefigurative politics—living and organizing as if the future society could be created at will, piecemeal, in the interstices of the present—which animated the New Left (and SNCC) was simultaneously its greatest strength and a key source of its undoing.

What lessons can be gleaned from this account? Gitlin implies that eventually the wild oscillation between narcissistic self-absorption and "guilty third worldism," along with the unacknowledged primacy of emotionalism in shaping theory and action, inhibited political discipline and clear-headed thinking, and thus the cultivation of a workable strategy to connect ends with means (rather

Gitlin offers his personal memories but also lets the movement tell the story with its own voice and spirit, without undue emphasis on its stars.

than making believe that these were the same: instant revolution).

The growing obsession with revolution functioned as a convenient distraction to avoid hard questions and honest analysis about both goals and process. Gitlin suggests that "sectarian logic" won out partly by default because "no alter-

native theory or action crystallized from the murk of the collective despair"—though at least one cogent alternative was put forth, the "new working class" theory articulated by Greg Calvert and others, that was trampled in the stampede. The New Left never found what it had long searched for: a solid and stable radicalism, grounded in American cadences and traditions, that would implement fuzzy liberal ideals and help construct, in Martin Luther King Jr.'s words, a "socially conscious democracy which reconciles the truths of individualism and collectivism."

Moreover, when the going got tough the white movement could not take refuge in the "integuments of solidarity" that enabled the Southern freedom movement to survive, for a time, its own defeats and despair—black church culture, freedom songs, etc. Ultimately, the New Left had neither an organization nor a *real* movement culture to sustain it and provide a healthy internal life; and Gitlin writes "no intellectual center for a more general politics which was at once radical and practical."

A slight blackout: Gitlin's focus is the white New Left, and he could hardly do more, but the all-embracing title and his attempt to be ecumenical unintentionally convey the impression that white youth were the prime history-makers of this era, with assists from other quarters. Although he frequently refers to diverse influences of black culture and activity, especially of SNCC, and devotes a long chapter to the Southern movement, one still gets the picture that black participants did not share center stage.

In a different way he gives too much credit to the New Left (both positive and negative) for the emergence of radical feminism, saying little about the latter's dynamics as an independent movement that reinforced and widened the radicals' efforts. And like other movement historians who once were SDS members, Gitlin fails to give sufficient attention to the self-consciously non-violent wing of the antiwar crusade—radical pacifists and draft resisters—who had their own problems but did not share in the SDS conflagration and outlived it. Partly for this reason he exaggerates both the absoluteness of the violent turn and the actual extent of deliberate violence.

But these flaws are far outweighed by the sweep and depth and unsparing honesty of a chronicle that for the first time does justice to the greatness of the New Left, while facing squarely its disappointments and tragedies that stalk us to this day.

Stewart Burns is a historian and ex-draft resistance organizer who is teaching about recent social movements at University of California, Berkeley.

UFCW

Making a Difference...

For Low-Paid Workers

“When the hard-working people in Mississippi’s growing catfish processing industry wanted a union to improve their living and working conditions, they looked to the United Food & Commercial Workers.

These workers, most of them black women, wanted a democratic union with the clout to negotiate a contract in the Delta where unions are few and far between. With pay at the minimum wage, little opportunity for promotion, and no pension, the catfish workers wanted a better future for themselves and their families.

Most of all, they sought dignity. They wanted to be treated like human beings, not like part of their plants’ machinery. They wanted courtesies most Americans take for granted—such as time to go to the bathroom and doors on bathroom stalls.

Catfish workers are like many others in today’s economy who are looking to the UFCW to help them out of the trap of poverty which is compounded by a lack of benefits most Americans receive from their employers. Hispanic poultry workers in the Sacramento Valley and their black counterparts on Maryland’s Eastern Shore and nursing home workers in Birmingham, Alabama and around the country are just some of the low-paid workers who’ve become members of the UFCW in search of a better future.

Often, the hard labor of these workers is further demeaned by oppressive employer policies, reinforced by reactionary community attitudes and complicated by language



and cultural

barriers.

The UFCW is proud of its organizing record throughout North America, but we take special pride in bringing the benefits of union membership to the lowest paid and most oppressed workers in our society.

The UFCW’s efforts are paying off for these workers in union contracts that will make a real difference in the quality of their lives for themselves and their families—now and in the future.”

William H. Wynn
International President

The UFCW, 1.3 million members strong, making a difference for workers, community and country.



United Food & Commercial Workers
1775 K Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20006



© 1987 Tat Entertainment Pictures Keith Barish Productions

FILM

Schwarzenegger: armed and dangerous in a real-life game of PACman.

Pumping for a game of sudden death

The Running Man
Directed by Paul Michael Glaser

By Pat Aufderheide

THE RUNNING MAN, THE LATEST film to show off Arnold Schwarzenegger, is derivative, obvious and loaded with action. (This is not the movie for people alarmed by on-screen violence.) It's also plenty of fun. Like some of its ancestors—such as *Max Headroom*, *V* and *Mad Max Beyond Thunderdome*—it's got populist punch. Its futuristic fantasy is just over the edge of today's reality.

Maybe Schwarzenegger, a guy who's built a body that's a parody of macho cool and seems to revel in the silliness of it, is what gives *The Running Man* the pulpy pep that *Robocop* so badly needed. But maybe it's also the only game he gets to play.

Schwarzenegger as Ben Richards is the man who beats the merged authority of media and state, by being the last good cop and the best performer. Directed by Paul Michael Glaser, who won his spurs in the industry playing Starsky in *Starsky and Hutch*, and drawn from a Stephen King novel written under the pseudonym Richard Bachman (Steven E. de Souza gets script credit), the movie takes place in early 21st-century America.

A police state enforces its rule not only with brutal repression but with the far more powerful tool of a television service dedicated to the proposition that people who are in front of the tube won't be on picket lines. (Yes, that's a line in the movie.) The Justice Department now has an Entertainment Division, although TV moguls don't squirm under the pressure. Cooperation serves the people's appetite for vicarious adventure, and feeds ratings.

The entertainment industry's hottest attraction is a game show, *The*

Running Man. Notorious criminals—or at least people who seem to be notorious criminals—are put through a maze where gaudily armed stalkers invariably kill them. It's a kind of real-life PACman game. Ben is a cop who had refused to fire on unarmed civilians and then escapes from permanent detention in 2019. He becomes the meat that slimy game-show host Killian (*Family Feud*'s Richard Dawson) needs to raise the ratings. "I can get 10 points on his biceps alone!" he crows.

Survival and resistance: Ben is the ultimate individualist. When he escapes, his buddies (one played by Yaphet Kotto) tell him to join the Resistance. He says he's into survival, not politics.

"Nowadays it's the same thing!" shouts one companion. Turns out they're right. Ben can bash a gory bunch of show-biz-for-real villains, including Jim Brown as a stalker with a fire blaster, but the Resistance turns the tide in the end. And Ben's out in front of the young freedom fighters (look for Dweezil Zappa as a teenage guerrilla). Of course, Ben gets the girl (Maria Conchita Alonso). And he gets her on prime-time.

The movie spices the adventure with jokes you'd be ashamed to say you laughed at. Two of the villains get it in the groin, done in with their own weapons. Trademark-Schwarzenegger bad puns and jokes sprinkle the film. After Ben has sawed the villain Buzzsaw pretty much in half, he explains the villain's fate: "He had to split."

Games of life and death: Unlike *V*, the mini-series whose tale of resistance to interplanetary fascism got inside resistance struggle conflicts, *The Running Man* sticks to good guys and bad guys. It shamelessly offers to 1987 audiences the same thrills that the futuristic TV game show offers audiences of 2019: bloody life-and-death battles, sexy dancers in show-off-your-belly-button chorus lines, a chance to

bet on the winner.

It makes you wonder if a show like *The Running Man* wouldn't work on network TV tomorrow, especially if viewers keep fleeing to cable channels. It made game-show host Dawson wonder, as a matter of fact. In press materials, he recalls a promoter pushing a show in which a man would fight a shark underwater, on live TV. Several countries actually signed up for TV rights, too, before the idea faded.

Dawson's Killian is a perfect villain not just because he's a ruthless corporate entertainer—a Johnny Carson type, ingenuously warm to the camera, frigid to human beings—but a political schemer. The huge TV screens that dot a debris-strewn landscape blare out not only stern reminders of state control, but also offer the chance to gamble and thrill with the slickest of big-time entertainment. People flock to betting zones. The game-show audiences are classic victims of the merged media-police system. Haplessly human on camera, they can never make up their minds, as they anguish over consumer choices that are also killer decisions for the game-show "contestants."

True to the current mass-media scenario of a post-democratic America, the underworld becomes the seedbed of revolution in *The Running Man*. Computer hackers join forces with thieves and radicals, in inter-ethnic solidarity, to shatter the mass illusion being broadcast to the Americans still living in the false paradise of consumer comfort.

Thrills and undertones: It's a race for audience attention, in *The Running Man*, between the action-adventure and the framework within which it takes place. Schwarzenegger both spoofs and lauds the role of the mightily-muscled hero, and he stakes a claim for tough-guy leadership at the same time that he needs the infrastructure of the Resistance. *The Running Man* rocks on the edge between fear of fascism and love of the last-good-cop hero. It's saved from its own contradictions by its cartoonish qualities.

The filmmakers couldn't have done better than Schwarzenegger to embody the ironies they retail with such zest. Ever since moviegoers first met him in *Pumping Iron*, he's been a proud icon of postmodern narcissism, someone who knows that illusion is real. He struts himself with the assurance of a character who's found himself in the white-heat of media attention.

The Running Man exploits boilerplate sentiment for the underdog, and the prevalent wish to cast ourselves as innocent victims caught in a web of deceit. It feeds the desire to win, and inflames simple hostility to authority. It also cleverly lodges a few warning signals about the ways in which mass media is more than just entertainment.

©1987 Pat Aufderheide

By Pat Aufderheide

Dum-da-dum-dum

Now that the sight of TV screens beaming government messages of crime control to the masses has become a science-fiction film cliché, here comes the reality. Fox Television, groping desperately for a competitive edge with the Big Three networks, will premiere in January a half-hour series, *America's Most Wanted*, featuring stars of the real-life criminal world. For those criminals who always wanted to be famous, this could be the moment to think about joining a union, to collect residuals. Adding a particularly gruesome touch, the host of the show will be John Walsh, who previously developed a made-for-TV movie out of the murder of his own six-year-old son Adam. TV has borrowed from helpfully culled crime files before, going back to shows like *Dragnet*. But Fox is skipping that budget-boosting fictional gloss. The show will further test the viewing audience's ability to distinguish between entertainment and information, celebrity and notoriety. Maybe when Fox gets a little more flush, or its relations with government crime-stoppers even cosier, the network could turn the program into a game show akin to the one featured in the film *The Running Man* (see accompanying story).

More Brawn in Prime Time

Prime-time TV looks more male than it has in years, reports the National Commission on Working Women (NCWW). Its study, called *Women Out of View*, found that a fifth of new TV shows have no female characters, and in many others women characters are incidental. It's a record in the six years NCWW has been tallying the gender score. *Cagney and Lacey* continues to be the exception that proves the rule. (The show's producers have, in compensation, been heavily running ads in the trades boasting that the show does gather male viewers.) On the upbeat side, the NCWW report noted that at least some female characters now escape the young-white-single-and-rich TV female stereotype, and that prime-time shows are beginning to hint at the stresses and challenges of family life. However, on TV, two-thirds of the kids living with a single parent live with dad; in real life, 90 percent live with mom. This tendency may seem a response to today's broken-family patterns, but actually it goes back decades, to shows such as *The Rifleman* and *Bonanza*, featuring mom-free families. Of course, TV producers didn't think up the theme of mom-free family life and flight from female domesticity on their own. It's an American pop literary tradition, as critic Leslie Fiedler flamboyantly argued many years ago.

Do-It-Yourself TV

If you want to see diverse programming on television, you'd better do it yourself. That's the lesson of the explosion of new technologies, which in cable have by and large given us the chance to watch stale commercial movies and goosed-and-gussied network-type shows. Deep Dish Television Network has taken that lesson seriously. In 1986 the organization, funded by a constellation of small grants and fueled by the dedication of alternative-media freaks, sponsored a 10-part series of programming on local public-access cable channels, on such issues as housing, racism, militarism, labor and women. The programs, relayed on satellite to 40 states, were picked up on 250 cable systems, thanks to local organizations. Now, Deep Dish is ready to do it again. This year's programs will display the works of video producers on such subjects as labor, farming, Latino images, AIDS, Central America, political humor and militarism. Documentary, experimental, narrative work and, hey, music video, are welcome. Deep Dishers, at 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012, (212) 420-9045, are looking for local community contacts to schedule and promote the programs, as well as written descriptions of programs, by mid-December.

The People, Yes, Please

Americans like the Fairness Doctrine, the simple rule requiring broadcasters to air more than one side of a controversial issue. They like it by a margin of nearly 2-to-1, according to a poll commissioned recently by *Electronic Media* magazine. Only 33 percent oppose the rule that the Federal Communications Commission now refuses to enforce, and that the National Association of Broadcasters has waged a multi-year war on. The higher the income and education level, the greater the public support for the Doctrine. Congress has reflected public sentiment in several legislative initiatives since last spring. Although a Reagan veto ended one try at codifying the Doctrine, and administration intransigence has jeopardized another Senate amendment, plans are still afoot in the House to attach codification to must-pass legislation.

©1987 Pat Aufderheide

Legacy

Continued from page 6

More than a million Chicagoans, many of them not black, marched past Washington's open casket as it lay in state at city hall or took part in other memorials in a spectacular display of affection and loss. The anxiety over his successor turned his November 30 funeral and a memorial later in the day into political rallies. Black newspaper columnist Vernon Jarrett stirred the crowd with an emotional comparison of the pro-Sawyer blacks to freed slaves who voluntarily returned to the plantation or black South African soldiers shooting freedom fighters. He later endorsed white Ald. David Orr, a Washington loyalist, to be the new acting mayor to underscore the issue as reform, not race.

But the crumbling of Harold Washington's 26 votes, early organizing for Sawyer, and the decision of the white machine bloc to support Sawyer—their favorite black on the council—presented an insurmountable obstacle. Some machine whites as well as blacks and whites from the Washington bloc offered their candidacies to provide an alternative, but nobody could reach a majority. One historically reform-minded black member, Anna Langford, said she supported Sawyer because he was the only black who could win.

White machine politician Eugene Schuller, who endorsed Washington in this year's general election, said he backed Sawyer as a person who could put together a black-white coalition and listen to everyone. His colleague Patrick O'Connor claimed he found it hard to back Evans after Jackson intervened, and whites like him felt they were

shut out. After Daley died the "mechanism [that is, Daley's patronage chief] rather than the mayor" ruled, O'Connor said, and he feared the same would be true of Washington's staff with Evans. With Sawyer the city would revert to its formal strong council, weak mayor structure, "the way it's supposed to be," O'Connor said. "Let's make it clear: this is about power; this is not about reform."

People power: By mobilizing mass pressure, Evans supporters sought to delay the mayoral decision and make aldermen consider public opinion. Even some pro-Sawyer aldermen admitted they had received a huge volume of calls running nearly 10-to-1 for Evans. Eventually the public outcry peeled away five black backers of Sawyer.

While the crowd chanted outside city hall on December 1, the aldermen caucused in the proverbial smoke-filled back rooms for hours. Sawyer began to waver; he felt he could not govern if he were elected with the support of only a few blacks. He wanted to postpone the vote, but the white machine bloc insisted on going ahead. Nearly four hours after the meeting was called, the machine white bloc burst into the council shouting, "We've got a mayor." But as Sawyer entered the council and saw both the protesters and Washington's fiancée, he nearly physically collapsed. His supporters were forced temporarily to adjourn the meeting and try to convince Sawyer once again to stand for the vote. After several more hours of parliamentary delaying and lengthy nominating speeches, Sawyer was finally elected.

A low-key, soft-spoken man, Sawyer has shown no real leadership in the past. Even his early endorsement of Washington in

1983, one of his claims to legitimacy as the mayor's heir, can be seen less as a matter of principle than a reflection of Washington's strong showing in Sawyer's ward in 1977. Another claim—that he served as president *pro tem* of the council since 1983 and thus stood in Washington's place—is tainted: he was first given that assignment as one of the few blacks offered any leadership post after Washington's 1983 victory, when the white machine bloc controlled the council.

Sawyer did support most of Washington's legislation, but he had reservations about the ethics law and opposed the gay rights ordinance. But the changes Sawyer brings may not be mainly on the legislative agenda. "What is threatened is what you don't see and never gets voted on," said Ald. Larry Bloom. "The people who support [Sawyer] look to him as a source of private gain for their friends."

Tellingly, the Chicago *Sun-Times* reported that Sawyer's relatives and close friends on city payrolls collect more than \$500,000 a year in salaries, and his brother was fired as revenue director for accepting bribes. His campaign records have also been subpoenaed in a federal probe of bribery and city contract irregularities. During his acceptance speech, however, Sawyer pledged to continue Washington's "progressive reform agenda" and initially seemed inclined to keep most of Washington's staff. One Washington associate who knows Sawyer said he is "certainly not a good government reformer" but broadly supports liberal economic goals.

Washington's legacy: But to Washington admirers, that praise sounds faint. Yet Tim Evans is also an odd heir to the former mayor's legacy: a machine committeeman who opposed Washington in the 1983 primary, Evans has long been criticized by reformers in his ward for being unresponsive. Washington picked him as floor leader in part because he saw Ald. Danny Davis, the black alderman whose politics best mirror Washington's, as too unreliable, and there were few alternatives among a lackluster crew. But Evans' political views seem to have

changed under Washington's tutelage.

Although the December 1 city council meeting has been legally challenged and there is agitation for a special election next year rather than in 1989 as the law apparently provides, Evans and his supporters are waiting to see if Sawyer lives up to his reform pledge. Yet it is likely that Sawyer will be challenged by some black in 1989, increasing the chances for a more conservative white to win. The alternatives, according to long-time reform strategist Don Rose, are the unlikely prospect that Sawyer will prove to be a reformer or mobilizing pressure on him to drop out of the 1989 mayoral race. Meanwhile, Rose argues that Washington's reform movement—which now is even weaker than the 19 votes it finally mustered—must target for defeat next year the machine-oriented black Democratic Party committeemen who are up for re-election as well as machine Ald. Roman Pucinski's daughter, who was put on the county-wide slate by Washington and, eventually, the unreliable or machine-oriented black and lakefront aldermen.

Ward by ward, power must be built up and candidates groomed systematically. Evans has a head start in the contest for leadership of the Washington hard-core forces, but he is far from being an ideal choice. Other contenders may yet emerge, although nobody remotely like Washington is waiting in the wings.

Washington left behind an unfinished legacy that was not fully accepted or understood even by many of his followers. He also left behind a movement that still rallies to his agenda but suffers from its own internal tensions of politics and ethnicity. Yet despite the agonizing disruption of his death and the compounded pain of seeing his old enemies handpick his replacement, there's a remote but tantalizing future possibility. The obviously aroused Washington movement may systematically work out a coalition with a clear, common agenda that builds a more solid base for what heretofore was held together by the force of a remarkable, if fallible, political leader.

SPECIAL HOLIDAY GIFT SALE!

Give IN THESE TIMES to all the people on your gift list.

As a holiday gift to you I've arranged for special prices. Your first one year gift is only \$34.95, your second only \$24.95 and the rest only \$19.95. Make one your own renewal and you've made the giving even easier. If you prefer, 29 issues are only \$18.95 for the first gift, \$16.95 for the second and only \$14.95 for all the rest! Just fill in the gift tags below and we'll do the rest, we'll even send the gift cards.

My Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

XHF04

☐ Make my own subscription the first gift

☐ New order ☐ Renewal ☐ One year \$34.95 ☐ 29 issues \$18.95

SECOND GIFT

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

XHF04

☐ New order ☐ Renewal ☐ One year \$24.95 ☐ 29 issues \$16.95

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

XHF04

☐ New order ☐ Renewal ☐ One year \$19.95 ☐ 29 issues \$14.95

☐ Payment enclosed

☐ Bill me after Jan. 1, 1988

☐ Charge my MC/VISA

Acct. # _____

Exp. date _____

Or call toll free 1-800-435-0715. In Illinois call 1-800-892-0753.

A handsome gift card will be sent announcing your gift. All gifts will begin with the first issue in January. Please write any additional gifts on a separate sheet of paper. Each gift being sent outside the U.S. please add \$13.00 postage for one year and \$6.50 postage for 29 issues.

IN THESE TIMES, 1912 Debs Avenue, Mt. Morris, IL 61054

Animator

Continued from page 24

key words, and "The Overcoat" is clearly his most ambitious attempt to render this constellation of ideas in visual form.

Slow going: Making an animated film is always a slow and laborious process, and that's why cartoons are generally short and often economize on movement. Norstein completed the 30-minute *Tale of Tales* in a rather speedy year and a half, but—between illnesses and troubles getting the cameraman paid—"The Overcoat" has taken longer than it was supposed to, and work on it is now suspended. Although the Union of Cinematographers under *glasnost* spearheader Elem Klimov have awarded "The Overcoat" money out of a new fund for independent productions, the Moscow City council (Mossoviet) has so far refused to allocate a workspace to Norstein and his small animation team.

According to Charles Samu of International Film Programs, Norstein has not worked on the film since April 1986 and has therefore received no salary, supporting himself instead by giving lectures in the USSR that pay very poorly.

"It seems to me that, in general, people in leadership positions don't understand that the essence of life can be concentrated in a

small work of art, so that something very large may be perceived in a short period of time," Norstein said, with heat as well as sadness.

Ironic, isn't it, that this conflict should center around Gogol's "The Overcoat" in which a little man is crushed by an unfeeling bureaucratic society. Surely *perestroika* (restructuring) should include an acknowledgement that great art may not follow a strict production plan. And there's every reason to believe that Norstein's "The Overcoat" will be another of his milestones in the history of film art.

Can we consider this matter a test of the humanity and the cultural openness of Gorbachov's USSR? I think so. The fate of an animated film may not sound like a major political event, but, as Norstein observed, "For me, it's my entire life, which cannot be repeated." There are some in the West who seem always to wish the Soviet Union ill and who are waiting in smug anticipation for it to fail in its current reforms as well. But I know I'm not alone in the hope that the restructuring of the USSR provides room, both spiritual and physical, for the likes of Yuri Norstein.

Karen Rosenberg, a member of the Massachusetts-based Alliance of Independent Scholars, often writes on Soviet and East European cultural history.

HELP WANTED

ALTERNATIVE JOBS/INTERNSHIP opportunities! The environment, women's rights, disarmament, media, health, community organizing and more. Current nation-wide listings—\$3. Community Jobs, 1516 P St., NW, Box 1029, Washington, DC 20005.

REPORTER/PRODUCER—\$21,000 (full-time). Pacifica Radio News, Washington, D.C., bureau. Minimum 3 years experience covering national and international issues. Good radio production skills required. News editing experience preferred. Send cover letter/resume/demo tape to: Pacifica Radio News, Attn: R. Davis, 700 H St., NW, Washington, DC 20001. No phone calls please. Pacifica is an affirmative action employer.

SALVADORAN MEDICAL RELIEF FUND seeks Executive Director. Knowledge of Central American issues, willingness to travel and speak essential. Salary competitive; benefits negotiable. Reply to: SMRF, P.O. Box 1194, Salinas, CA 93902.

THE CENTER FOR PARTICIPATION IN DEMOCRACY, a non-profit statewide voter registration and community organization project, is seeking qualified candidates for positions of **BUSINESS MANAGER** and **FIELD DIRECTOR**. The Center also has 140 positions available for **LEAD ORGANIZERS, ORGANIZERS** and **ADMINISTRATORS**. Interested individuals should call (408) 372-3301 for information or send resume directly to: 605 Pine Ave., Pacific Grove, CA 93950. Affirmative Action Employer.

STATEWIDE COALITION of progressive citizens groups seeks fulltime Director.

This publication is available in microform from University Microfilms International.

Call toll-free 800-521-3044. In Michigan, Alaska and Hawaii call collect 313-761-4700. Or mail inquiry to: University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

CLASSIFIEDS

PUBLICATIONS

GAY COMMUNITY NEWS—“The gay movement's newspaper of record.” Each week GCN brings you current informative news and analysis of lesbian and gay liberation. Feminist, non-profit. AND there's a monthly Book Review Supplement. Now in our 12th year. \$29.00 for the year (50 issues). \$17.00 for 25 weeks. Send check to GCN Subscriptions, Suite 509, 167 Tremont St., Boston, MA 02111.

RECON keeps an eye on the Pentagon. FREE SAMPLE from RECON, Box S-14602, Philadelphia, PA 19134.

PEACE IS BREAKING OUT IN NICARAGUA! IN THESE TIMES features in-depth reports on how the Arias Peace Plan is working in Nicaragua. From the Miskito Indians to the contra foot soldiers, IN THESE TIMES reports on how the Nicaraguan people are ending the war. Reprints of the October 21-27 issue are available for \$3.00 each, or 50¢ per copy for 25 copies or more. For more information call Maggie Garb at ITT, (312) 472-5700, or send your order to: Special Issue, In These Times, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.

COMMUNITY ARTS

RADICAL THEATRE needs your dollars (\$450,000 by October, 1988) to convert porno theatre into community arts center. Send tax deductible gifts to: In the Heart of the Beast Puppet and Mask Theatre, 734 E. Lake St., Minneapolis,

MN 55407. Questions? Call Lucinda at (612) 825-0971.

EDUCATION

STUDY SPANISH—Cuernavaca, Mexico. Family stay w/ meals \$10 daily. Educational Travel, P.O. Box 373-T, Brockport, NY 14420.

TRAVEL

PEACE PILGRIMAGE to the U.S.S.R., May 23-June 4, 1988. \$2,090 complete. Contact Rev. Eric Dale, United Campus Ministries, 901-G Lucinda Ave., DeKalb, IL 60115. (815) 758-8177.

BOOK SEARCH

OUT OF PRINT BOOKFINDER. 2035 (TT) Everding, Eureka, CA 95501. Send Wants.

PRODUCTS

“BATS, NOT BOMBS”—Beisbol Diplomacy” buttons, \$1.00. Free catalogue. Socialist Party Favors, Box 8211-T, Des Moines, IA 50306.

HEALTH

FINGERNAIL FUNGUS? Inexpensive, natural treatment. Money-back guarantee. \$10. HMC, Box 458-AT, Milltown, NJ 08850.

PERSONALS

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER links left singles, nationwide. Free sam-

ple. P.O. Box 555-T, Stockbridge, MA 01262.

ATTENTION

MOVING? Let *In These Times* be the first to know. Send us a current label from your newspaper along with your new address. Please allow 4-6 weeks to process the change. Send to: In These Times, Circulation Dept., 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054.

VOLUNTEERS

ITT NEEDS VOLUNTEERS in the Business Dept. Gain political/practical experience in a stimulating environment. Flexible hours available between 9-5, Mon.-Fri. Benefits include staff subscription rates, ping-pong. Call Hania at (312) 472-5700.

TYPESETTING

CONCERT TYPOGRAPHERS shares your interest in social change...Our profits help support *In These Times*. Concert Typographers provides excellent, fast typesetting with individual service and spirit. Put your typesetting dollars to work for social change. Call (312) 472-5700. Ask for Sheryl Hybert. Or write for our FREE brochure: 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657. Member CTU, No. 16.

CALENDAR

Use the Calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of ITT Calendar.

NEW YORK

December 11-13 & 18-20

The 16th Annual WBAI Holiday Crafts Fair, Ferris Booth Hall, Columbia University, 115th & Broadway. Fridays 5:00 p.m.-9:00 p.m., weekends noon to 7:00 p.m. The oldest, largest (over 300 exhibitors) winter crafts fair in America. Benefit for non-commercial radio station WBAI-FM. Admission \$5. For more information (212) 279-0707.

RWP/Shaffer ASSOCIATES
INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL SERVICES
174-03 Horace Harding Expressway
P.O. Box 166
Fresh Meadows, New York 11365 -0166
(516) 466-6600
(718) 357-6688

NEW! SCHOOL IS HELL T-SHIRTS
MAY I SUGGEST YOU SEND \$1 AND AN SASE FOR OUR CRUDE NEW CATALOG?
100% WHITE COTTON
AVAILABLE IN SMALL, MEDIUM, LARGE, AND EXTRA-LARGE.
ONLY \$10
PLUS A PALTRY \$2 FOR SHIPPING + HANDLING PER SHIRT
CALIF RES ADD 6.5% SALES TAX
SEND GOOD CHECK OR MONEY ORDER TO:
LIFE IN HELL P.O. BOX 3664 LOS ANGELES, CA 90036

LIFE IN HELL

LIFE IN HELL

©1987 BY
MATT
GREENING

SCHOOL IS HELL BUT IT BEATS WORKING

LESSON 19: GRAD SCHOOL—SOME PEOPLE NEVER LEARN

THE 5 SECRETS OF GRAD SCHOOL SUCCESS

- DO NOT ANNOY THE PROFESSOR.
- BE CONSISTENTLY MEDIOCRE.
- AVOID ANYTHING SMACKING OF ORIGINALITY.
- DO EXACTLY WHAT YOU ARE TOLD.
- STOP READING THIS CARTOON RIGHT NOW AND GET BACK TO WORK.

THE SIMPLE WAY TO AVOID THE STOMACH-CHURNING AGONY OF HAVING TO FINISH YOUR THESIS

READ ANOTHER BOOK.

REPEAT WHEN NECESSARY.

WILL YOUR RESEARCH MAKE THE WORLD A BETTER PLACE?

JEAN. SURE.

CONGRATULATIONS!! YOU DID IT!!! YOU FINALLY FINISHED YOUR DISSERTATION!!!

EH? SPEAK UP, SONNY.

MEET THE BITTEREST PERSON IN THE WORLD
THE GRAD SCHOOL DROPOUT

SPENT 4 LONG YEARS LIVING WRETCHEDLY

WORKED LATE INTO THE NIGHT

REPPRESSED ALL ANGER

HAD A SERIES OF LOW-PAYING DEGRADING JOBS

FINALLY GAVE UP AFTER BEING UNABLE TO FINISH THESIS

CURRENTLY UNABLE TO ENJOY ANYTHING

FLOWED THROUGH THOUSANDS OF TIBETAN BOOKS

IN THESE TIMES Classified Ads Grab Attention

...and work like your own sales force. Your message will reach 96,000 responsive readers each week (72% made a mail order purchase last year). ITT classies deliver a big response for a little cost.

Word Rates:	Display Inch Rates:
80¢ per word / 1 or 2 issues	\$22 per inch / 1 or 2 issues
70¢ per word / 3-5 issues	\$20 per inch / 3-5 issues
65¢ per word / 6-9 issues	\$18 per inch / 6-9 issues
60¢ per word / 10-19 issues	\$16 per inch / 10-19 issues
50¢ per word / 20 or more issues	\$13 per inch / 20 or more issues

All classified advertising must be prepaid. Advertising deadline is Friday, 12 days before the date of publication. All issues dated on Wednesday.

Enclosed is my check for \$_____ for _____ week(s).
Please indicate desired heading _____
Advertiser _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Send to:
IN THESE TIMES, Classified Ads, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.

Top

drawer



A detail from Yuri Norstein's animated work-in-progress, "The Overcoat."

By Karen Rosenberg

IT'S HARD NOT TO THINK OF SOVIET CULTURE in strictly political categories. Propagandist, dissident or between-the-lines critic of the system—before Gorbachov that seemed to be the range of possibilities for Soviet writers and artists. Now many expect the Soviet intelligentsia to expose the ills of their society in works with an obvious message. But a slight, red-haired, 46-year-old animator named Yuri Norstein towers above those categories.

Animation often spells cartoons, but in Norstein's case it means art in motion. His fairy-tale plots are deceptively simple, for they contain a favorite theme of Dostoevsky or Proust: childlike openness that is often casually betrayed and sometimes cherished.

Norstein, who came to the U.S. in November for a brief tour sponsored by International Film Programs of Rahway, N.J., is already known to colleagues and animation buffs here. In 1984, his *Tale of Tales* was voted best animated film of the last 80 years by 35 film programmers and scholars from various countries who were polled by the Los Angeles Olympic Arts Festival. But animation as an art form still hasn't reached a large U.S. audience especially outside of major cities and college towns. As a Soviet citizen and an animator, Norstein is, you might say, doubly foreign.

Matter-of-fact magic: That is, until you see his films. The fish that floats in midair and the cow that placidly plays jump-rope in *Tale of Tales* have a matter-of-fact magic that is familiar from much of the art of our century. Chagall, for instance, or some of the

surrealists, though for the most part they lack Norstein's philosophical depths.

Once a painter, Norstein often refers in conversation to art that has moved him, like Rembrandt's *Return of the Prodigal Son*. "I can feel at peace because such a work exists," he told me in Boston. "Although I've loved it for some 20 years, that love hasn't grown cold or stiff or become calcified." Why did he abandon painting for film? "I myself don't know," he answers. "Sometimes I think it was a mistake...and the times I used to paint by the window in our communal apartment (there were three of us living in one small room) were the happiest of my life."

It's rare to find such emotional intensity without an equal amount of self-aggrandizement. One is reminded of the late Russian film director Andrei Tarkovsky who talked with awe about the great masters in his book *Sculpting in Time*. A number of observers have also found filmic similarities between Norstein and Tarkovsky: the disjointed memories of a wartime childhood in *Tale of Tales*, for instance, are reminiscent of Tarkovsky's fragmented autobiographical film, *The Mirror*.

What Norstein says he values in Tarkovsky is his rigorous conscience and purity of expression. For both of these filmmakers, art appears to be the repository of universal spiritual and moral values. Topical films with a critical social message are useful and necessary, but they won't last long,

**World-class Soviet animator
Yuri Norstein draws
international attention.**

Norstein said, because they don't address themselves to the essence of life. "Should one really spend one's life's blood on that?" he asked rhetorically. The question of what is worth living for is one to which he repeatedly returns.

Paying a heavy price: Putting one over on the bureaucrats, for example, he considers an unworthy goal for an artist. (From czarist times, Russians have often coped with censorship by writing between the lines, hinting at ideas that could not be expressed openly.) "As a result," he said, "sincerity is utterly lost."

He mentions with great admiration one man who had the guts and the driving will to state his views forthrightly, until he died of a heart attack in 1980: Vladimir Vysotsky, the adored Soviet songwriter, singer and actor. (Perhaps because his lyrics are often so difficult to translate, few Westerners are aware of this powerful cultural model. Fortunately, a recent book, Gerald Smith's *Songs to Seven Strings* provides an excellent introduction to his life and work.)

With determination worthy of Vysotsky, Norstein has labored since 1981 on an animated film of Nikolai Gogol's story "The Overcoat." The hero of this 19th-century Russian classic, a clerk in the czarist bureaucracy, has a passionate love for copying documents and a burning desire for an overcoat—in fact, these are the be-all and end-all of his emotional life. A brief excerpt from the unfinished animated work shows a new stage in Norstein's development: while his previous characters have often been animals with rather human characteristics, this busy clerk moves like some little forest creature. Norstein's images suggest that "The Overcoat" is Gogol's warning about what man can be reduced to.

"I have the feeling," Norstein confirmed, "that Gogol intended this work to live on into eternity so that if there were an ideal society—which is, of course, impossible on this earth—its inhabitants might peer into this black abyss, into which they, too, could tumble if they were to lose their conscience and their compassion for others." Conscience, sincerity, compassion, openness, life's essence, the eternal—these are Norstein's

Continued on page 22